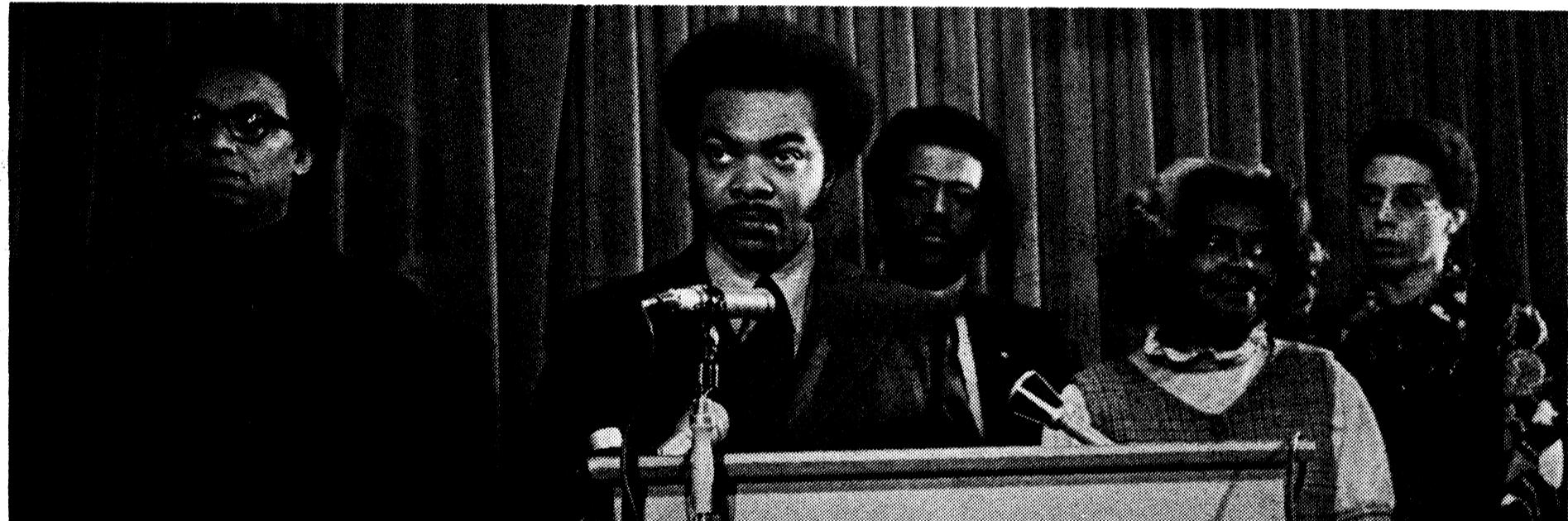


THE MILITANT

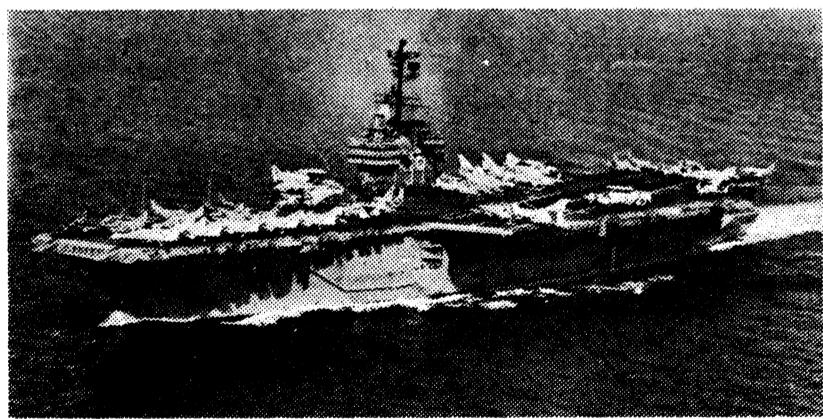
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Civil rights forces unite for Dec. 14 anti-racist march



Militant/Donald Gurewitz

Mass. state senator-elect William Owens at news conference urging support to Boston Freedom March. See pages 3-5.



Will U.S. go to war for Arab oil fields?

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How Farm Workers' struggle can be won

— See page 6



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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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In Brief

OIL WORKERS BRACE FOR STRIKE: A. F. Grosiron, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), recently warned a meeting of local union leaders from eight western states of the possibility of a long strike in the oil industry. He also charged that the oil companies are holding vast reserves of gasoline, heating oil, and other petroleum products.

Grosiron said, "The companies will manipulate those reserves in an effort to beat us." He predicted that they "will contrive a few spot shortages to worry the public and perhaps to jack up prices."

The meeting of union leaders was called to discuss the union's strategy in the upcoming negotiations with the oil industry. OCAW contracts covering about 60,000 workers in the oil industry will expire Jan. 6. The union represents about 200,000 workers in the oil, chemical, and atomic energy industries.

"Know one when you see one," which compared Yasir Arafat to Hitler and Arabs to German Nazis. Demonstrators' placards read: "Stop anti-Arab racism" and "Stop warmongering against the Arab people."

On Nov. 14, 200 people attended a teach-in at George Washington University (GWU) on "Palestine Today and the Struggle for Self-Determination." Speakers at the gathering were Joe Stork, of the staff of MERIP, monthly magazine of the Middle East Research Information Project; Robert Van Lierop, director of the Africa Information Service; Ya'acov Gazit, editor of *Viewpoint*, an Israeli monthly review; Reja Helou, a Palestinian professor at Howard University; and Peter Buch, of the Socialist Workers Party.

NEW WOUNDED KNEE DEFENSE VICTORY: On Nov. 15 a Lincoln, Nebr., jury found Stanley Neptune not guilty of assaulting a federal officer. Neptune's indictment was in connection with the 1973 seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D.

This case was the first Wounded Knee case to be decided by a jury.

On Nov. 14 the government began its case against Rachel White Dress, a lifelong resident of Wounded Knee, and her daughter Helen Red Feather. The two are charged with burglary and larceny at the Wounded Knee trading post. Another Wounded Knee trial began Nov. 18 against Manuel Alvarado, Newman Crowels, and Terry Williams, who are all charged with burglary.

SARAH BAD HEART BULL RELEASED: Sarah Bad Heart Bull was released on parole Nov. 15 from the South Dakota women's prison in Yankton. She had been in jail without bond since June 20.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull had been convicted on the trumped-up charge of arson stemming from an American Indian Movement-led protest in Custer, S.D., on Feb. 6, 1973. Two hundred Indian people went to Custer to demand justice for the killing of Bad Heart Bull's son. The killer, a white Custer businessman, had been charged only with second-degree manslaughter although evidence showed it was premeditated murder.

BLACK STUDENTS DEMAND FUNDS AT BAKER UNIVERSITY: The Coalition of Minority Students (CMS) at Baker University in Baldwin, Kans., has been fighting the school administration's racist practices.

Last spring, Black students held picket lines and other protests demanding that more Black students be given access to federal financial aid. The Baker administration responded by stonewalling and harassing students who participated in the actions.

The CMS demanded the immediate suspension of all federal funding to Baker University until the school was in "full compliance with governmental guidelines."

Since the spring, a regional office of the Health, Education and Welfare Department has audited the Baker financial aid program and found "no evidence of discrimination" against minority students.

The coalition is demanding that there be a thorough federal audit of what it believes is a flagrantly discriminatory aid program.

- NORMAN OLIVER

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Unionists, students, civil rights groups back Dec. 14 march against racism

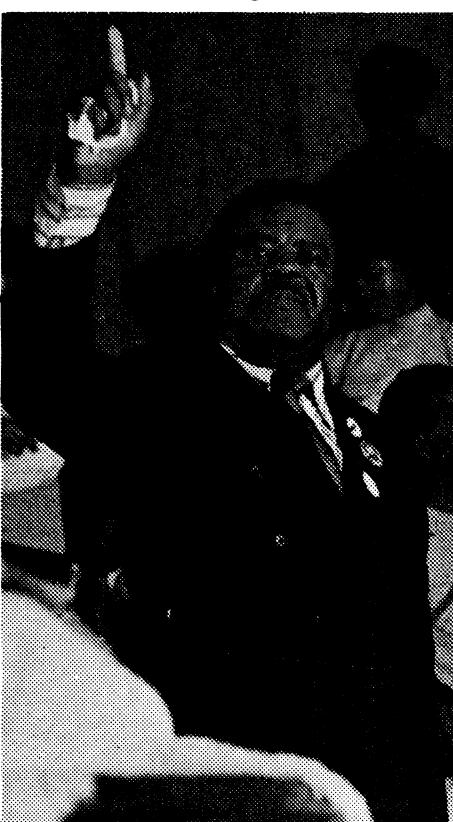
By WENDY LYONS

Civil rights leaders, trade unionists, clergy, and students around the country are throwing their support behind the Dec. 14 Freedom March for Human Dignity in Boston.

The march, initiated by Massachusetts state senator-elect William Owens, will support the right of Boston's Black community to desegregated schools. It is being organized as an answer to the racists' campaign of violence aimed at rolling back court-ordered desegregation.

Boston students are getting behind the action in a big way. A Student Committee for the Dec. 14 March Against Racism was formed at a meeting of representatives from 18 Boston-area campuses on Nov. 24. The committee has called for a national teach-in to be held Dec. 13, to help build support for the march on Dec. 14.

The call for the teach-in says, "The civil rights movement that defeated Jim Crow in the South was aided by students all over the United States. . . . The student movement should rekindle its support for the struggle for equal rights for Black people. The racist offensive is a challenge to us."



Reverend Ralph Abernathy, head of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is one of many civil rights leaders urging support to Boston march.

The teach-in will feature national and local spokespeople from the civil rights, union, and student movements. The students have set up offices at the George Sherman Student Union, Boston University. They can be contacted at (617) 353-3642.

The Dec. 13 teach-in has been endorsed by: Willie McKinney, president, Roxbury Community College Student Government Association; Ray Sherbill, president, Boston University Student Union; Robert Harper, Harvard-Radcliffe Afro-American Student Association; Parthena Stanton, Boston University Young Black Voices; Diane Pria, president, Uhuru SaSa, University of Rhode Island; Ollie Bivins, Boston University Young Socialist Alliance; and others.

A representative of senator-elect Owens addressed the student meeting and received an enthusiastic response when he urged massive student sup-

port of the Dec. 14 action. An office will be set up in the Black community of Roxbury to organize participation in the march.

Student support for the action is also rolling in from New York. Broadly sponsored organizing meetings have been held at New York University and Brooklyn College.

A meeting has been called at Hunter College, sponsored by Ron Rizzuto, president of the student government; Mary Lum, Asian Students in Action; Curt 2X Dunmoodie, Caribbean Students Union; and professors from the Black studies and Puerto Rican studies departments.

At the City College of New York the following student organizations are supporting the Dec. 14 march: Black Pre-Law Society, Chinese Student Association, Concerned Asian Students, Latin American Student Association, Young Socialist Alliance, Slavic-American Student Association, Dominican Student Association, Muslim Student Organization, and the YMCA.

Black Economic Survival (BES) has made its office at 302 Livingston St., Brooklyn, N.Y., available as an organizing center to mobilize people to go to Boston on Dec. 14.

Eighty people from campus and community organizations attended a meeting there Nov. 23. Moses Harris, director of BES, outlined plans to reach out to Black community organizations, churches, high schools, and campuses all over the city. Massive leaflet distributions are planned for the two weekends remaining before Dec. 14.

The Haitian Fathers, an organization of Haitian priests, has pledged to organize leafleting of Haitian churches.

Cities across the country are responding to the call to come to Boston. Philadelphia, Washington, D.C.,



Black students entering formerly all-white South Boston High School. Dec. 14 Freedom March will defend their rights against racist campaign of violence.

Pittsburgh, and Baltimore will send buses to Boston.

Other cities planning to send contingents to Boston or hold solidarity actions Dec. 14 include Denver, Chicago, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

In Los Angeles, a solidarity action will also focus on protesting attempts to block school desegregation in Pasadena, Calif.

In San Francisco, a solidarity action will be held at the Federal Building on Dec. 14. Endorsers of the demonstration include: Ying Lee Kelley, Berkeley city council member; Yvonne Golden, principal of Opportunity II High School; and Popeye Jackson, president of the United Prisoners Union.

Atlanta, Ga., which was the scene of many of the civil rights demonstrations of the 1960s, is also getting behind the Boston march. Veteran civil rights leaders Ralph Abernathy and Hosea Williams, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), are calling for support to the Dec. 14 action. Other endorsers include J. Lowell Ware, editor of the *Atlanta Voice*; Leamon Hood, international area director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); and Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of the Atlanta school board.

Contingents from St. Louis are also planning to march in Boston. In addition, there will be a support action in St. Louis Dec. 14.

Continued on next page

Dellums, Rangel urge big turnout

The following statements were sent Nov. 26 to the Student Committee for the Dec. 14 National March Against Racism:

Now is the time to join in the national teach-in, march, and rally against institutionalized racism and violence in Boston.

We should make every effort to show everyone that the vast majority of the American people, regardless of race or color, stand on the side of human rights and justice and oppose any kind of violence against all schoolchildren.

For too long it has been the racists who have made the headlines. We cannot sit back and allow them to continue in the spotlight, for they do not speak for the majority. We must speak up now!

One way to shunt aside the racists and to speak out for basic human rights is to take part in the national mobilization against racism in Boston December 14 and the student committee's teach-in on December 13—actions that would bring together the many divergent people who are against racism, who are against the racists' attacks on

schoolchildren, and who are for the elementary democratic right of these children to go to any school in safety.

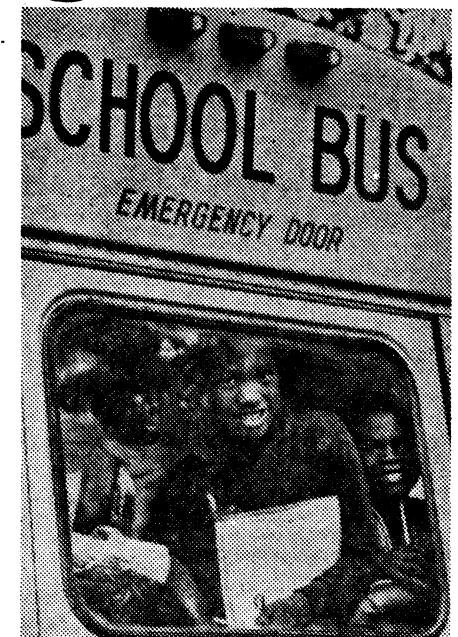
Won't you join us in this worthwhile effort?

*Ronald V. Dellums
Member of Congress*

I call upon all those people interested in fostering equal education and equal justice to support the teach-in on Friday, Dec. 13, and the march against racism on the following day, both events being sponsored by the student committee.

It is essential that the young people get involved in this movement to see that the law as enunciated by the Supreme Court regarding quality education is carried out in Boston. Just as all those young people and other citizens believing in the need to correct our position on Vietnam mobilized and pushed for an American withdrawal from that area, these same people can and should come together to see that the law regarding equal education is carried out.

Twenty years ago the Supreme



Court said, "Separate but equal has no place." Apparently some people didn't hear or chose not to hear the order. It is up to all of us to protect the children and see to it that the law is carried out now.

*Charles B. Rangel
Member of Congress*

...support for Dec. 14 demonstration

Continued from preceding page

At a Nov. 22 news conference at the office of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the St. Louis Boston Support Committee issued a statement saying, "The mob violence and racist atmosphere created in Boston these past weeks must and will be answered. . . . We must let it be shown that St. Louisans stand on the side of human rights and justice."

Present at the conference were Gene Fowler, CORE; Alderman C.B. Broussard; Reverend A.C. Hall, president, Black Ministers Union; and Reverend Sterling Belcher, Immanuel Lutheran Church.

Immanuel Lutheran Church has made office space available to organizers of the action.

In Louisville, Ky., organizers working out of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) headquar-

ters report that they have chartered a bus to Boston.

Houston, Tex., will be the scene of another solidarity demonstration Dec. 14. There are also plans underway for an action in San Antonio, Tex.

Endorsers of Dec. 14 in Texas include three state representatives: Ron Waters, Mickey Leland, and Craig Washington. José Angel Gutiérrez, who was recently elected district judge in Crystal City on the Raza Unida Party ticket, is also supporting Dec. 14.

The University of Houston student government has voted unanimously to endorse Dec. 14 and to provide office space for building support activities.

On Nov. 24, the reactionaries held a rally of 4,000 in East Boston Stadium to protest court-ordered desegregation. They too have gotten the

word that there will be a Freedom March in Boston Dec. 14.

Avi Nelson, a local radio talk-show host and frequent speaker at the racist rallies, said, "The antibusing movement is alive and well judging from this crowd, but we've got a long fight on our hands." Angered by the prospect of thousands marching for Black civil rights Dec. 14, he put forward a call for a counterdemonstration. He urged the 4,000 present to each line up 10 friends for a rally to be held Sunday, Dec. 15, on the Boston Common.

The racists also organized a Thanksgiving week boycott of the Boston schools. On Nov. 25, at South Boston High School, 205 of the 228 white students attending classes that day walked out of school to join 100 parents in a demonstration outside.

The headmaster of the school, Wil-

liam Reid, admitted that he knew in advance that the walkout would take place but made no attempt to stop it.

The city-wide supervisor of the school department information center, Thomas Loftus, also gave encouragement to the racist boycott. He publicly announced that students boycotting school Thanksgiving week will probably "just be marked absent" with no further action taken.

The continued reactionary offensive—aided and abetted by everyone from President Ford down to local Boston school officials—demands a loud and clear answer on Dec. 14.

The call for a racist counterdemonstration Dec. 15 should serve as a challenge to organizers of the Dec. 14 Freedom March to redouble their efforts to ensure a powerful response on that day.



Boston, Oct. 7. Mob tries to lynch Jean-Louis Yvon, a Haitian, who was driving through South Boston to pick up his wife from work. Racist campaign against desegregation is spearhead of drive to beat back gains of civil rights struggle.

Set national teach-in

The following are excerpts from the proposal for a national teach-in that was passed at a meeting of representatives of 18 different campuses, held at Boston University Nov. 24.

Today in Boston a racist school boycott, weekly mass demonstrations against 'forced busing,' and racist taunts and violence directed against Black students are cornerstones of a movement which seeks to roll back and defeat desegregation of this city's schools.

What is at stake in Boston are gains won through years of struggle by the civil rights movement of the 1960s. The events in Boston are of national significance.

The civil rights movement that defeated Jim Crow in the South was aided by students all over the United States. A national demonstration against racism has now been called for Dec. 14 by senator-elect William Owens and a broad range of civil rights, union, and other community leaders. A local demonstration to help build it has

been called for Nov. 30. As students we have an obligation to help build this national action. Our actions can be a substantial contribution to the success of the Dec. 14 national mobilization.

A national student teach-in should be held on Dec. 13. . . . Such a teach-in can dramatically explain why we march and help to mobilize the Boston community to participate in the demonstration. . . . It can help to unmask the real aims of the so-called antibusing movement, and it can play a significant role in convincing the honest and decent forces in this area that they can and must stand up against the racist offensive.

The student movement should rekindle its support for the struggle for equal rights for Black people. The racist offensive is a challenge to us. . . . Come to the National Teach-In Against Racism on Dec. 13; All out for the December National March Against Racism to show the world that the bigots do not own the streets of Boston.

Black unionists target of racist campaign

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—Black members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union here have a special interest in supporting the Dec. 14 Boston Freedom March for Human Dignity. They have been targets of the racist campaign of violence to drive back court-ordered desegregation of Boston's schools.

Rexford Weng, vice-president of Local 575 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, told *The Militant*, "It's not safe for our Black members to come to the union hall." Weng is Black.

Three locals of the Meat Cutters share offices in Andrew Square in South Boston, where racist antibusing sentiment runs high. The locals have a large Black membership and some, like Weng, have publicly spoken out strongly for the right of the Black community to desegregated schools.

As the racist hysteria that met the implementation of desegregation this fall grew, gangs of white youth threatened and attacked Black union members.

Several days ago, while the rear door of the union hall was open to

air out the headquarters, racist thugs tossed rags soaked in oil into the offices and set them on fire.

There has been a sustained campaign of harassment around the union hall. "White kids who are out of high school," reported Weng, "hang around waiting to do something. They've set fires to the garbage cans in back of the hall."

They have also vandalized the cars of union members. Sheldon Coates, president of Local P-616 of the Meat Cutters, had the tires of his car slashed.

"We have not had a union meeting in the past couple of months here," Weng said. "Our next local meeting has to be held at a Howard Johnson's to protect our members."

Weng thinks that what has happened to members of the Meat Cutters union underlines the importance of the Dec. 14 Boston Freedom March. He is encouraging unionists locally and nationally to come to Boston.

"This demonstration must be broadly supported," he said. "It is very timely. It's what is needed now."

Weng, who heads the Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, Civil

Rights Committee, helped organize a news conference early in the school year to show labor support for desegregation and speak out against the campaign of violence aimed at stopping it. Endorsing the statement of the Labor Council's Civil Rights Committee were Daniel Murray, of the United Steelworkers union and executive vice-president of the Massachusetts State Labor Council; the United Auto Workers union; the United Electrical Workers; and District 65 of the Distributive Workers.

Weng told *The Militant*, "The labor movement, I believe, is the most powerful movement in this country. The AFL-CIO leadership have to make a clear stand for integration in the crisis in Boston."

Weng predicts it will take a "long painful struggle" to implement desegregation. If violence escalates and "the city's political leaders don't stop it," he said, "if push comes to shove, we are going to have to have federal troops come in here and police these areas, occupy them to make them safe for Black people."

"We need a massive demonstration

on Dec. 14," said Weng. "It is part of the process of forcing the politicians like [Louise Day] Hicks and [John] Kerrigan," he said, referring to the leaders of the antidesegregation forces, "to stop their inflammatory rhetoric and get people to comply with the law."



Militant/Betsy Waldheim
Rexford Weng, vice-president of Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 575, tells of attacks by racists on union hall.

Maoists reaffirm antibusing stand

Which way will RU march on Dec. 14?

By WENDY LYONS

The Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) has come under sharp attack from many in the radical movement for its opposition to busing to desegregate Boston's public schools. By refusing to side with the Black community and its allies in the fight to defeat the racist opponents of the federally ordered busing plan, RU has come down on the side of the reactionaries in Boston.

In addition to *The Militant*, groups in the Maoist camp, such as the October League (OL) and the *Guardian*, have scored RU for its rotten line.

Even some members of the RU student group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, have had a hard time swallowing the arguments RU has used to defend its line.

Under this pressure, RU has now undertaken a "self-criticism." However, while retreating on some of their most blatant formulations, their line remains fundamentally the same. They contend that busing is a ruling-class tool whose aim is to divide Black and white workers. And they reaffirm their opposition to the struggle of Blacks to end segregation by any means necessary, including busing. This struggle, RU argues, is divisive.

In the Oct. 25 issue of *The Militant*, we reprinted part of a leaflet showing that the RU had gone so far in its adaptation to the white racists that it even used the stop sign, which has become the symbol of the antibusing movement. The leaflet demanded, "Stop the busing plan."

In their self-criticism, the editors of RU's monthly newspaper, *Revolution*, concede that they were wrong to use the stop-sign symbol. "The RU comrades responsible for the symbol being put on the leaflet," the editors claim, "were not aware then that it was being used by the reactionaries!" If this is

true, the RU leaflet writers must have been the only people in Boston ignorant of this fact, since the symbol was plastered all over town. Certainly none of the Black students would have had any difficulty identifying that symbol with the racists who organized the mobs to hurl stones at the school buses.

The Militant also reprinted the front-page headline from the October issue of *Revolution*, which read: "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan." *Revolution* now regrets this headline also. It reflected, the editors self-critically point out, a tendency "to overemphasize the question of opposing the busing plan."

"While it is correct to oppose this particular busing plan," they wrote, "communists, as we said in that article, do not support or oppose busing in the abstract, though we are in principle for integration of the schools, housing, etc. . . ."

In other words, RU doesn't oppose busing "in the abstract," only in the concrete! RU thus joins the ranks of the Supreme Court, the Congress, and the president of the United States—all of whom are against segregation "in principle," but oppose specific plans, like the busing of schoolchildren in Boston, designed to end desegregation.

RU now says, "The demand we should be focusing more around in the Boston struggle is the question of equal and decent education, while, within that, opposing this particular busing plan, and at the same time making clear our general stand in favor of integration and equality between nationalities."

A neat trick. RU says it's for integration, but it fails to explain how the schools can be desegregated without busing. Since housing is segregated in Boston the only way to desegregate



Will Revolutionary Union join Boston Freedom March, or will it support racists like these?

the schools is to bus students to different neighborhoods.

The Black community in Boston understands this. So do the racists.

The antibusing forces have made a big hue and cry about preserving "neighborhood schools," howling about how terrible it is that some of their children have to go to school at the formerly all-Black Roxbury High.

But they are also boycotting their own "neighborhood school"—"Southie"—because Blacks are now going to school there. The slogan of "neighborhood schools" is a transparent cover for racist resistance to any moves toward desegregation.

Unfortunately, RU continues its efforts to provide "left" arguments for opponents of desegregation.

RU is particularly defensive over the criticisms they have gotten for their demand to "end police attacks on whites." Defenders of the right of Black

children to attend desegregated schools should be demanding that the government act to enforce the law on civil rights. This includes the use of police power, and federal troops if the police can't or won't do it, to protect the school buses and Black people in general from the racist violence in Boston.

The RUers, however, put out a leaflet that says: "Stop the Racist Attacks on Black People: Stop Police Attacks on Black, Latin and White People and People of all Nationalities. . . ."

How evenhanded! Perhaps the RU will take the next logical step and set up defense committees for the white "victims" who got arrested after the cops felt compelled to forcibly stop a mob from murdering Jean-Louis Yvon, a Black man who was nearly lynched while driving his car through South Boston.

RU tries to defend its position by

Continued on page 26

Invite supporters to convention

Young Socialists organize for Boston protest

By GINNY HILDEBRAND

One of the central discussions at the upcoming Young Socialist Alliance convention in St. Louis will be how to defeat the racist offensive in Boston against school desegregation. The convention will begin Dec. 28 and will run through Jan. 1.

Since the call for a national march on Boston against racism came out Nov. 14, the YSA has been on a campaign footing to build the demonstration.

YSA leaders on national speaking tours to publicize the YSA convention have used their campus meetings and media engagements to encourage everyone opposed to racism to join the Freedom March on Boston.

In Milwaukee, for example, the headline on the women's page of the *Sentinel*, a daily newspaper, read: "Young Socialist Urges Boston March." The article was on the Milwaukee tour of Delpine Welch, YSA national organizational secretary.

At a taping for the Ira Fistell show on WRIT radio in Milwaukee, Welch explained that the desegregation issue is not just a Boston question. "If these racists get the green light in Boston," she said, "that would endanger all of the gains made by the civil rights and Black liberation movements."

At a Brooklyn College meeting in



Militant/Charlie Rosenberg
YSA leader Delpine Welch, on national speaking tour, warns of danger from racist drive in Boston.

New York, José G. Pérez, YSA national executive committee member, spoke on "How to fight racism in Boston." After explaining the issues at stake in Boston, he urged the students at the meeting to take leaflets to build a meeting called by several Brooklyn College campus groups for the next day to discuss organizing busloads of students to go up to Boston.

Vince Eagan, another YSA national spokesperson and a leading activist in the struggle against police terror in

Atlanta's Black community, reports from Philadelphia that the student government at Philadelphia Community College has already made plans to send a bus to the Boston march.

While in Philadelphia, Eagan spoke to students at the DuBois House, a Black dormitory at the University of Pennsylvania. He also spoke to 50 students at Shippensburg State College in Shippensburg, Pa.

In Eugene, Ore., where Laura Moorhead, YSA national committee member from Los Angeles, is on tour, KEZI-TV and the *Register Guard*, the Eugene city paper, covered her tour. Moorhead also spoke at campuses in Portland, where six people expressed interest in making the long trip to the convention in St. Louis.

Young Socialist traveling teams, which have been on the road for six weeks, are also using their remaining time to build student support for the Dec. 14 march as well as for the YSA convention.

Another way that the YSA will help to publicize the Dec. 14 action is by distributing a special four-page supplement to their monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*, headlined, "Join Boston Freedom March!" Also a YSA button, "End Racist Attacks in Boston," will soon be available.

In summing up the purpose of the YSA speaking tours, José G. Pérez told *The Militant*, "The YSA thinks that all young people opposed to racism should be in Boston on Dec. 14 or participating in local solidarity actions on that day."

"In addition, young people need to plan out a broad strategy to fight racist attacks throughout the country and to change this whole capitalist system, which is based on oppression and exploitation. This is what will be discussed at our upcoming national convention in St. Louis. We are urging young people to march on Boston Dec. 14, and to go to St. Louis Dec. 28."

Send me more information about the YSA.

I would like to attend the convention.

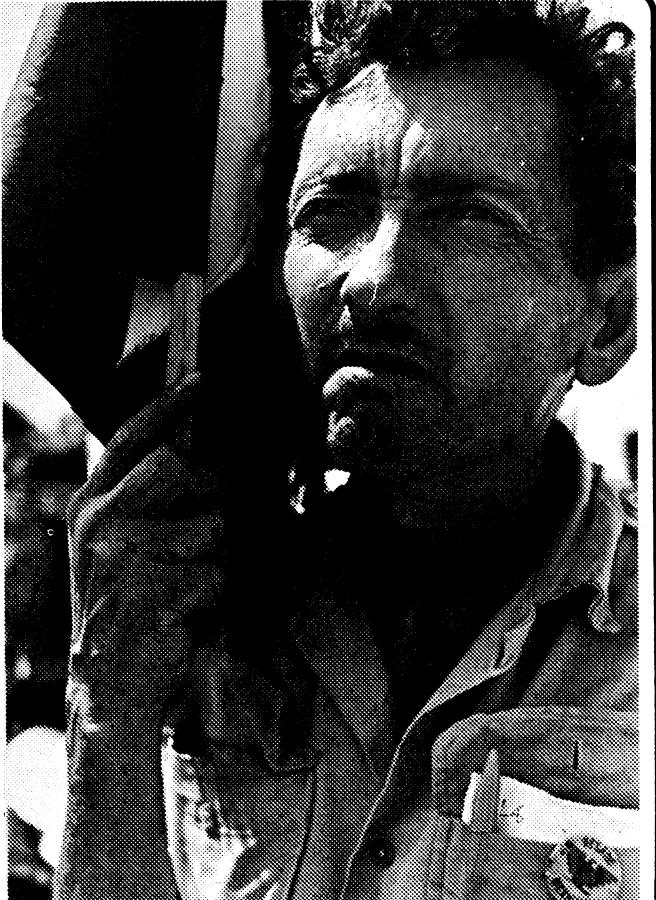
I want to join the YSA.

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United Farm Workers: how the struggle can be won



Militant/Howard Petrick

By HARRY RING

When the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee set out in 1965 to unionize U.S. agriculture, it was taking on an enormously difficult job.

There are some three million agricultural wage workers in this country. The multi-billion-dollar food-producing industry has become increasingly concentrated and mechanized. Such wealthy corporations as Tenneco, Boeing, and Dow Chemical have taken over giant farm operations. In these "factories in the fields" the workers are fiercely exploited. The wages are low and the profits high.

All the other basic sectors of U.S. industry—steel, rubber, auto, and so on—were unionized in the 1930s. But the powerful agribusiness interests have violently, and for the most part successfully, resisted unionization.

The big corporations that dominate agriculture are as politically influential as they are wealthy. And they're as reactionary as they are influential.

They have seen to it that farm workers do not receive even the meager benefits of what passes for social legislation in this country. Collective bargaining rights, unemployment benefits, Social Security, minimum wage and hour laws, child labor statutes—all of these have been denied America's agricultural laborers.

Over the decades there have been a variety of organizing efforts among farm workers in different areas of the country. Until the United Farm Workers (UFW) came on the scene, all were beaten back.

The UFW has accomplished more than any of the previous organizing efforts. Yet the gains it has made represent only an initial step in organizing agriculture. And today the UFW finds itself fighting for its very life.

César Chávez and his associates began organ-

izing California farm workers at an appropriate time. The beginnings in 1965 coincided with a rising radicalization in the United States spurred by the Black liberation struggle and a rapidly developing antiwar movement. Indeed, the farm workers movement itself was one of the first indications of a new radicalization and nationalist awakening among Chicanos. More than a trade union, it was a social movement, *La Causa*.

The students who built the antiwar movement made the cause of the farm workers their own. They played a key role in promoting the grape boycott, which in 1970 forced California's grape growers to sign historic three-year contracts with the UFW.

Coupled with a successful organizing drive among lettuce workers, the grape contracts brought some 60,000 workers under the UFW banner.

Better wages, conditions

In a few short years, the efforts of the United Farm Workers had brought meaningful change for the field hands. The very presence of the union was enough to win wage increases throughout agriculture.

The grape contracts won by the UFW in 1970 represented a major gain for farm unionism. In addition to better wages, hours, and conditions, the contracts provided for a union voice in health and safety conditions and the establishment of elected ranch committees to enforce contract terms and handle grievances.

The most significant gain was establishment of the union hiring hall. This did away with the highly exploitative labor contractor system and did much to reduce discrimination against women and older workers.

Precisely because the UFW did win significant gains, the profit-hungry growers have been determined to destroy it. When the grape contracts expired in 1973 it soon became apparent that the growers had bought a new, destructive weapon to add to their union-busting arsenal: the treacherous and corrupt leadership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Refusing to renew their contracts with the UFW, the growers signed sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters—contracts signed behind the backs of the workers, contracts that scrapped the gains won in the UFW pacts, contracts that made the workers unwilling dues payers to an organization whose sole function in the fields is to freeze out and destroy a legitimate union.

The growers have also had no problem enlisting the aid of all levels of government. Sheriff's deputies joined with Teamster-hired goons to protect scabs. Pliant judges issued antipicket injunctions. Two strikers were killed, hundreds clubbed, several thousand jailed.

Blows to union

It must be recognized that heavy blows have been delivered by the union-busters. At its peak, the UFW had some 60,000 members and nearly 300 contracts. Today only a few of these contracts remain and membership is down to a few thousand.

These UFW members, to be sure, are not ordinary union members. They are committed activ-

ists who consider the union their movement and who are ready to brave severe hardships to continue the struggle.

Although the UFW has been cut down by the grower-Teamster collusion, there is a continuing militancy in the fields. Strikes have occurred in the past several months among strawberry, lettuce, and tomato pickers in California and lemon pickers in Arizona.

Significantly, all of these workers turn to the UFW for leadership. There has not been, to my knowledge, a single strike in the fields led by the Teamsters.

Nevertheless the situation of the UFW is very difficult. To force the growers to resume their contractual agreements the UFW leaders have turned their efforts almost exclusively to promoting the boycott of grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine.

A certain amount of progress has been made in this effort. Grape sales are reported down in various areas of the country, and Gallo has acknowledged a drop in the sale of its wine.

The effect of the boycott has been limited, however, by two problems. One is the reluctance of the UFW leadership to actively and consistently promote the kind of mass picketing and demonstrations essential to an effective boycott movement. When such actions have been called, they have often met with an enthusiastic response and have scored some victories. Unfortunately, however, boycott activity aimed at involvement of large numbers of UFW supporters has been the exception rather than the rule.

The other obstacle is the disgraceful refusal of the top leadership of the AFL-CIO to give full and active support to the boycott. After months of stalling, the AFL-CIO executive council did finally endorse the grape and lettuce boycott, but not the one on Gallo wine.

Since the endorsement, AFL-CIO support has been of a token character with little activity and no money to back it up. Meany's idea of a boycott is to put a product on the "Don't Buy" lists in the union press. He and the rest of the narrow-minded, conservative bureaucrats in the AFL-CIO officialdom are adamantly opposed to a real boycott campaign of mass action.

Attacks on 'illegal aliens'

In the midst of this difficult situation, Chávez has embarked on a course that can only add to the union's problems. He is repeatedly demanding deportation of the hundreds of thousands of "illegal aliens"—the Mexican workers who cross the border without documents in a desperate search for work.

This stance is a dangerous concession to the racist and chauvinist policies of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. Lately Chávez has been so busy assailing the undocumented workers that he hardly has time to mention the growers or their perfidious Teamster agents. He apparently hopes for some miracle by which the government will deport all the "illegals" and then the growers will come to terms.

Such a strategy doesn't solve the problem of the grower-Teamster conspiracy. It only permits the growers to play the old game of divide-and-rule.

A fraction of the undocumented workers are being used as strikebreakers. And the great mass



Teamster-hired goon used against farm workers' strike in Coachella. Growers bought aid of Teamsters bureaucrats to keep UFW out.

of them certainly are compelled to work for starvation wages and, in the process, help drive down all farm wages.

The UFW needs to keep scabs—citizens or non-citizens—out of the fields by any means necessary. But it is utopian to expect that the government will accomplish this task for the union, and it is utterly false and reactionary to call for the deportation of any of these workers.

The only realistic way to stop the growers from taking advantage of the "illegal" status of undocumented workers to use them against the union is for the union itself to organize these workers and take the lead in fighting for their rights.

The false position taken by Chávez toward the undocumented workers symbolizes in a sense the basic problem confronting the farm workers' leadership. That problem is their failure, so far, to grasp what kind of program it will take to organize U.S. agribusiness.

To organize agribusiness

Chávez himself recently expressed the essence of the matter extremely well. In an interview with the *New York Times* he remarked:

"I once said you couldn't organize farm workers in conventional ways, the normal ways of unions. What we're saying is that it has to be a *movement*, it has to be an *idea*."

Truer words were never spoken.

The problem is that thus far Chávez has not developed the kind of bold, sweeping program that is needed to carry out that profoundly correct idea.

Let's consider what is involved if the main components of U.S. agribusiness are to be solidly unionized.

To begin with, the farm labor force is extremely unstable. The bulk of the work is seasonal and most of the workers are migratory, moving from area to area and crop to crop with the successive harvests. To organize this highly mobile work force, to keep it organized, and to enforce contract conditions in the fields would require an extensive union apparatus.

A national network of union hiring halls would be needed to assure that union men and women would be in the fields. A hiring hall can ensure that work is made available fairly to all.

For the union hiring halls to be accessible to and available for all the migratory workers, the system of labor camps in which they live would also have to be reorganized. These camps are now operated by government agencies, contractors, or growers. In virtually all of them the workers live in miserable conditions.

These need to be replaced by publicly owned, union-operated housing complexes that would ensure decent housing and sanitation and which would be tied in with the union hiring halls.

Similarly, state information centers that direct the flow of migrant workers to various areas would have to come under union control.

And such a national network of union information centers, hiring halls, and camps would have to have a special border section to ensure that Mexican workers coming here would enjoy the same union conditions as their brothers and sisters—whether they have papers or not.

That kind of a setup would, of course, require union-shop contracts with all the major growers' associations in the country.

And to seriously improve the living and working conditions of farm workers, the union would have to fight for control over health and safety standards and against all the forms of discrimination now suffered by farm workers.

"That's a great idea," some will say. "But how do we do it?"

The answer is: It's not easy. But it can be done.

Where to begin

The unionization of farm labor is a huge and ambitious undertaking. To succeed it will require a militant, massive social movement, with the active solidarity of students, the oppressed national minorities, and the labor movement.

With the right program, the United Farm Workers can make the present boycott the starting point for building such a mass movement. As a result of the heroism and tenacity of the farm workers' struggle, the union has a huge reservoir of sympathy and potentially active support to draw on. This can be tapped right now, to a much greater extent than it has been.

In the first place, students and other radicalized young people could be mobilized by the thousands to publicize the boycott, picket stores, organize rallies, and distribute leaflets. The forces are there—many campus actions and referenda have made that plain. In many areas they have fallen into inactivity only for lack of clear direction.

The central goal of the boycott is to block scab



Militant/Henry Snipper

Active boycott campaign can be starting point for building mass social movement with power to unionize agribusiness.

produce from enough markets to make even the agribusiness millionaires suffer. This requires both mass pressure on stores not to carry scab produce, and a vast educational campaign to inform millions of people of the issues and win their support for the boycott.

It can't be left only to those whose main concern is to demonstrate their individual witness. It will take mass picketing of stores, mass leafleting, and big, broadly sponsored rallies that demonstrate the extent of support for the boycott and keep it in the public's attention.

Another immediate base of support that could be mobilized in such a campaign is the Chicano barrios, where the cause of the farm workers is deeply felt and supported.

But to bring this support into play, the UFW leadership will have to abandon its prodeportation, *promigra* stance. One of the consequences of this false position is to undercut the union's support in the Chicano community, where virtually everyone has a relative or friend without papers.

If the UFW began to champion the rights of undocumented workers and called upon the entire Chicano movement to mobilize for the boycott, the union could take a powerful step forward toward achieving its goals.

Winning labor support

If the UFW had the wholehearted backing of the organized labor movement, it could bring the growers to their knees in a matter of weeks. The unions could mobilize their members for the picket lines. They could enforce a ban against scab produce anywhere the unions are strong, and they could wage a serious educational drive to make sure not a single union member buys scab lettuce, grapes, or wine.

The role of the retail clerks and meat cutters unions is obviously key. Instead of stabbing the farm workers in the back, as some of their locals have been doing, these unions could take the position that they won't tolerate scab produce in the markets where they have contracts.

The AFL-CIO's official sanction for the boycott is a valuable gain won only because of the

resolute struggle of the farm workers and their supporters. Instead of being a lever by which hidebound bureaucrats like Meany can blackmail the UFW to curtail its militant struggles, however, the endorsement should become a lever for the UFW to solicit active labor support in cities across the country.

The full power of the unions will not be brought to bear against the growers by knuckling under to Meany on questions like the undocumented workers. The union officials can only be forced to come across with real support by pressing ahead the boycott campaign with all the forces that can be mobilized. This will awaken an enthusiastic response from the union ranks and put the greatest pressure on the union tops to make good their promises.

In the Teamsters union as well there is no great love for the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy's scab policies among the rank and file and even many secondary officials. A greatly stepped-up effort should be made to expose the role of the Teamster bureaucrats, to scandalize them throughout the labor movement, and to appeal to the Teamster ranks for support.

Many Teamsters, particularly in California, are Chicanos and Blacks. A persistent campaign directed toward them can be effective in forcing a change in Teamster policy and, ultimately, in ousting the gang that now controls that union.

A campaign of mass action in support of the UFW could also force the government to grant farm workers the rights other workers are legally guaranteed under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). The scandalous failure of the fake "friends of labor" in Congress to extend the NLRA to farm workers means they are unable to hold binding elections for the union of their choice. This is why the Teamsters can sign contracts with growers even though the vast majority of farm workers prefer the UFW.

Pipe dream?

In the long run, to force the major growers to terms, effective strike action will have to be organized in the fields. This would be greatly facilitated by the cooperation of certain key unions.

The Teamsters and the various rail unions could make it clear they would not ship scab produce. Similarly, unionized canning and processing workers could refuse to handle scab goods.

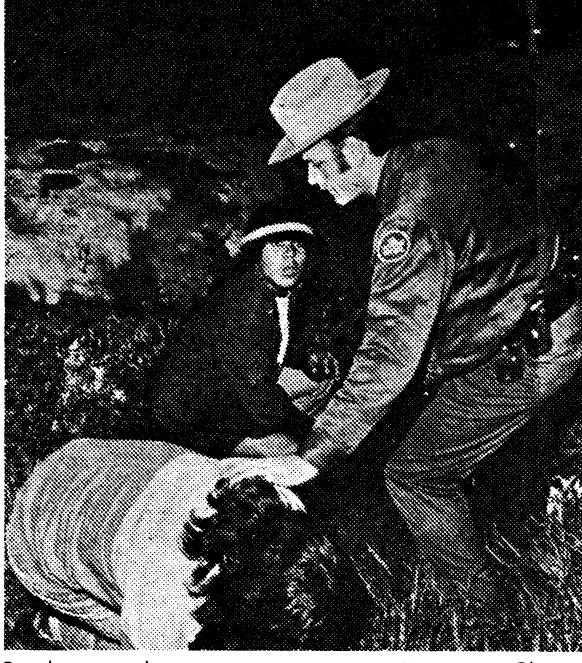
That combination can unionize U.S. agribusiness.

Many will consider such an agricultural organizing plan a king-sized pipe dream. But if we look back at labor history we will see that workers have won victories that in their time seemed like even bigger pipe dreams.

Only 40 years ago, the mass of the workers in the basic industries of this country were unorganized. In 1933, the AFL included little more than two million skilled workers organized into craft unions. The leadership of the AFL refused even to try to organize the mass-production workers in the basic industries, stubbornly insisting that it couldn't be done.

But in the mid-1930s, as a result of the radicalization brought on by the depression, an unprecedented labor upsurge occurred. Led mainly by radicals, workers in key industries began unionizing.

Continued on next page



Border patrol cop arrests two young Mexicans. Chávez's call for more deportations can only hurt UFW cause.

...farm workers

Continued from preceding page

Chavez's statement that farm workers cannot be organized "in conventional ways" applied fully in the gigantic battle to organize America's industrial giants. The CIO, in its early days, was no ordinary union organization. It was a vital, tumultuous social movement that rallied the fighting spirit of Blacks, women, and youth. It challenged the steel barons, the rubber barons, the auto and the waterfront barons—and it beat them.

The struggle went far beyond the old, narrow forms of union organizing. There were major battles with cops and national guardsmen. Antipicketing injunctions were defied by demonstrations so massive that the injunctions could not be enforced.

Accomplished the impossible

Within that great labor upsurge of the 1930s workers accomplished the seemingly impossible. One good example is the West Coast longshoremen.

In 1934 the only union on the docks was the International Longshore Association. Conditions were as bad as could be. The "hiring halls" operated out of bars and poolrooms. Kickbacks for



Workers in labor upsurge of 1930s pioneered new forms of struggle, such as sit-down strike, above.

jobs were the norm. Wages were so low that about 50 percent of the workers were entitled to welfare.

To build an effective union, the longshoremen needed the support of the sailors and the Teamsters. Back in 1919, seamen had scabbed on a longshore strike. In 1921 longshoremen scabbed on the sailors. The Teamsters scabbed on both.

But in 1934 the winds of change blew down the waterfront. Defying Joseph "King" Ryan, the East Coast muscleman who ran the union, the San Francisco dockers launched a solid, militant strike. It spread to all major ports on the Pacific Coast.

This time they won the support of the sailors, who refused to move any ship loaded by scab labor. And the members of the San Francisco Teamsters union voted—over the heads of their rotten officials—not to move any scab cargo through longshore picket lines.

The dockers met bloody resistance from the shipping and stevedore outfits and the San Francisco cops. The bitterly fought struggle erupted into a general strike.

The maritime workers won that strike, and today the union hiring hall prevails up and down the West Coast.

As a result of the fierce strike struggles fought in the 1930s all of America's basic production—except agriculture—is unionized. In almost all key industries the union shop is firmly established.

In the new wave of labor militancy that is on the horizon, there is no reason to believe that farm workers cannot accomplish the colossal task of unionizing agriculture. Indeed, farm workers are likely to be in the very lead of a revitalized and insurgent union movement. Many of the things the UFW has done have already contributed to a healthier sense of solidarity within the labor movement.

The lesson of the 1930s is not that the UFW has to wait for the coming labor upsurge to advance toward its goals. Just the opposite. A militant struggle on the part of farm workers will help considerably to accelerate the coming of that upsurge.

What is needed above all is the confidence that working people have the capacity to struggle and to win.

The United Farm Workers has already offered the battle cry for such a movement of struggle.

Si se puede!

Yes we can!

N.Y. CLUW adopts structure, discusses march on Boston

By LINDA JENNESS

NEW YORK—Joyce Miller, East Coast vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), presented the New York City chapter of CLUW with its official charter Nov. 23 amid cheers and applause. The presentation followed an all-day meeting attended by 243 CLUW members representing 29 unions, as well as several dozen observers.

The main business of the day was adoption of an organizational structure for the New York chapter along with bylaws governing membership, election of officers, and other matters. The structure and bylaws that were adopted provide a framework through which CLUW can grow and become an effective organization.

The structure was passed overwhelmingly. Some women, however, offered amendments, and the discussion in the workshops around some of these proposed amendments was useful. They reflected the discussion going on around the country where CLUW chapters are trying to get off the ground and are grappling with some of the same questions.

Membership in CLUW

The most important of these questions is membership: Who can belong to CLUW? The New York structure resolution states that CLUW will be open to "members or retired members of a union or other organization that engages in collective bargaining." This is in line with the national structure and bylaws.

A minority of women at the meeting felt that this bylaw should be amended so that women who are not in unions, but are involved in organizing drives, could join CLUW. They argued that in this way CLUW could better help organize unorganized women and give them the support they need.

These arguments, although reflecting a desire for CLUW to reach out and grow, reveal a misconception about what CLUW is and about its present stage of development.

In order for CLUW to be effective it must remain part of the union movement. It cannot go around the existing unions, but must work through them.

In one of the workshops a woman from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) argued in favor of the structure proposal on membership this way:

"I'm for organizing the unorganized too. But we're not going to do that by opening CLUW to nonunion women. CLUW is not a union. CLUW is not going to go out and organize the unorganized. What CLUW is going to do is pressure our unions to go on organizing drives and pay particular attention to the needs of women. And we're going to do that by building a strong *union* women's organization. That's the best thing we can do right now for our unorganized sisters."

Taking CLUW to the unions

Another discussion revolved around representation from individual unions on the executive board. The structure adopted at the New York meeting provides for any union with 20 CLUW members to have one representative on the executive board of New York CLUW.

If a union has 100 CLUW members, the union is entitled to two seats; and if a union has 400 CLUW members, it is entitled to three. Unions with fewer than 20 CLUW members can join together and elect one representative from among them.

Some women felt that these requirements were too stiff and that the number of members required should be lower.

But the majority agreed that the idea behind this requirement is a good one. It emphasizes the need for CLUW members to go back to their individual unions and recruit women to CLUW. CLUW's base is in the unions, they argued, and if CLUW members don't build CLUW in their own unions there is no way for it to grow. Or, as one woman put it: "Hell, honey, if you can't convince 20 women in your union to join us then we're not going anywhere."

Democracy in CLUW

Although these kinds of questions were discussed in some of the workshops, at the final plenary the chair ruled that the amendments, even those passed in workshops, could not be discussed or voted on in the plenary session. They were referred to the executive board.

The majority of women were clearly in favor of the structure as it stood and were opposed to these kinds of amendments. But it would have been in keeping with the strong sentiment that minority views should be heard and voted on, if the proposed amendments had been put to the body for discussion. In addition, some people were confused, and a discussion around these amendments would have been educational and would have helped to clarify the issues.

Attempts to curtail democratic procedure can only weaken the authority of the chair, the leadership, and CLUW itself, in the eyes of the many enthusiastic union activists.

March on Boston

At the end of the meeting a special point was placed on the agenda to hear a report and motion regarding the Dec. 14 Freedom March for Human Dignity in Boston, called to protest the recent racist attacks on the Boston Black community.

Pat Wright, a member of District Council 1707 of AFSCME and chairperson of the activities committee of CLUW, which has been instrumental in building strike-support action, presented the motion from her committee.

The motion called on New York CLUW to endorse and build the Dec. 14 demonstration; for the women present to get their individual unions to endorse the march; and for CLUW to organize union women to participate in the march.

After a brief discussion, the motion was narrowly defeated. The main opposition to the motion came from members of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT). Many of these teachers follow the racist leadership of the UFT, headed by Albert Shanker, which has placed itself in opposition to the struggles of Blacks and Puerto Ricans against racism in the schools.

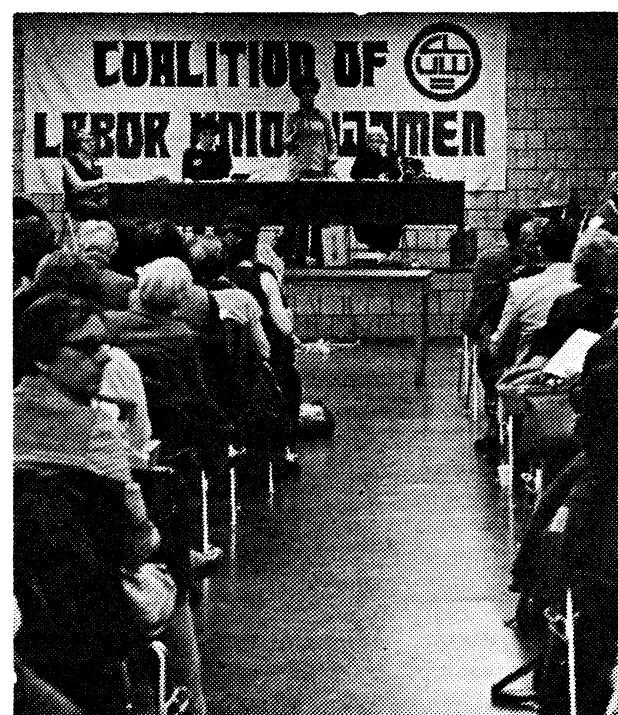
In addition to the Shankerites, however, some women voted against the motion because they felt that CLUW as an organization shouldn't endorse the march, claiming that the march was "too controversial" and that many unions wouldn't support it.

After the meeting Pat Wright explained her opinion of the voting. "Well, Shanker's people are on the wrong side," she said. "They're on the racist side, pure and simple."

"Other people though," she continued, "they're just not sure what CLUW should or shouldn't do. But I'm convinced that this is something CLUW should do. I believe that CLUW should be among those unions and union organizations that are taking the lead in trying to stop these racist attacks."

"It's true that some unions won't support this demonstration. But don't forget that CLUW was not formed just to tailend the unions as they are. We weren't formed simply to reflect the status quo. We were formed to begin to change the unions and make them more responsive to our needs."

Although the motion was defeated, some of the women signed up to go to Boston, and many promised to take the issue to their unions and get them to participate.



Militant Ruthann Miller
New York union women became official chapter of CLUW at Nov. 23 meeting.

'A tough strike against great odds'

N.Y. strikers force United Parcel to back down

By FRANK LOVELL

When members of Teamsters Local 804 voted on Nov. 20 to end their 85-day strike against United Parcel Service (UPS) in the metropolitan New York area, not all issues raised by the strike had been resolved, but the strikers felt they had won a substantial victory.

The new three-year contract provides for pay raises amounting to \$58 a week over the three years, plus a limited cost-of-living allowance, and improved fringe benefits. It also specifies how many and under what conditions full-time workers can be phased out and replaced by part-timers, the central issue in dispute.

The average before-tax weekly wage of the 4,500 UPS workers represented by Local 804 reportedly was \$220, raised to \$278 in the final year of the contract. The cost-of-living allowance is limited to 11 cents an hour, \$4.40 weekly. This is a cost-of-living allowance in name only, far short of what is needed to keep wages abreast of rising prices.

These are substantially the money terms that were rejected overwhelmingly by a membership meeting of more than 3,000 on Nov. 17. An additional \$8 sweetened the original pay offer, but what made the difference in acceptance of the new contract was the guarantee that of the 1,409 full-time sorters, packers, and other inside workers, no more than 180 can be phased out yearly through attrition, retirement, resignation, death,

transfer to other jobs, or for any other reason.

This was the central issue in the strike because the company had announced at the outset last Aug. 28 that it intended to replace full-time workers on inside jobs with part-timers, at its discretion and in its own way. It claimed this was a "management prerogative," recognized as such by other locals of the Teamsters union with UPS contracts, and the matter was nonnegotiable.

Company threat

The company also claimed that it was forced to take this position because it was losing \$8-million a year on its New York City operation and needed to reorganize work methods to stay in business. To back up its adamant stand it threatened to discontinue its service in New York if its terms were not accepted, throwing more than 4,000 workers on the unemployment rolls.

The history of UPS is evidence that this was no idle threat. Several years ago it closed for more than two years its delivery service in the Philadelphia area in order to impose a similar high-handed employment policy.

Local 804 was not intimidated. The membership voted to strike and held out at considerable personal sacrifice for 85 days before the settlement was reached.

It demanded full support of the Teamsters international leadership and all locals, denied by the international officials. It demanded that the company open its books to union inspection of the alleged \$8-million operating loss. And in the end the meeting of 3,000 strikers rejected nearly unanimously the "final" offer less than a week before the company's Nov. 20 deadline for closing up shop.

It was this sustained action by the militant membership of Local 804 that forced the company to change its plans, under considerable pressure from the merchandising industry, which depends upon UPS for delivery service and which claimed to have lost millions as a result of the strike.

The U.S. Postal Service expanded facilities to provide delivery of parcels, but this was unsatisfactory and more expensive.

Pressure of city and federal government was brought against Local 804 to settle on company terms, but after this failed the U.S. Mediation Ser-



Militant/Blanca Fernandez

UPS strikers stayed out for 85 days. Main issue in strike was management's attempt to replace full-time workers with part-time ones.

vice called both parties to Washington, D.C.

At the Nov. 20 meeting that voted to ratify the compromise settlement, Local 804 President Ron Carey told the members: "I'm not 100 percent satisfied with what we got. But it is much better than what was offered to us before—unlimited attrition."

Carey also pointed out that Local 804 had won the only Teamster contract with UPS in the country that guarantees a minimum number of full-time jobs.

Drivers for UPS have seniority rights and are guaranteed full employment. They were not immediately affected by the company's reorganization plans to operate with part-time workers, but they felt threatened in the long run if the company got away with its attack on the inside workers. The drivers fully supported the strike on that account.

Union leaders and members seemed to recognize that this strike was only one battle, though an important one, and that when the new contract expires they will in all likelihood have to fight again to defend their jobs.

The company's claim that it was losing money in New York was a transparent hoax in light of its revenues last year of \$1.2-billion and profits of \$57.1-million.

Union auditors checked UPS New York accounts but made no report. Account juggling is common practice in industry and finance. This matter may be considered moot since the settlement, but it will become necessary for the union to demand a pub-

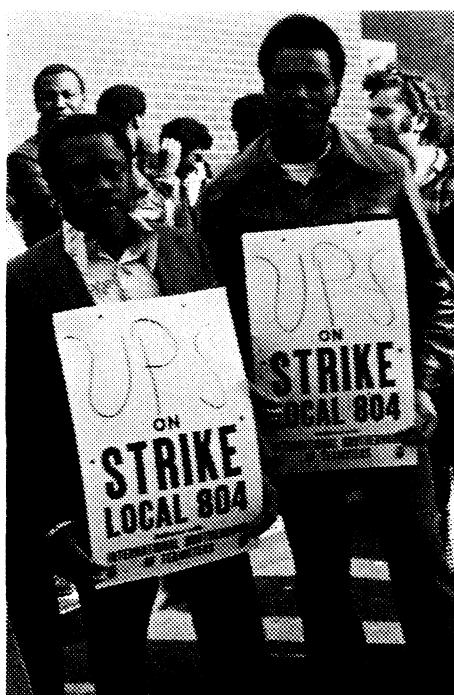
lic review of UPS bookkeeping if there is any attempt by the company to violate the terms of the new contract.

Public ownership

Another issue implicit in the company threat to close its operations in order to bludgeon the union is whether a public delivery service such as UPS should be left in private hands, subject to the whims of an uncontrolled management. Local 804 would win wide support if, in conjunction with its probe of UPS books, it raised the demand for public ownership under union control. This could save the vast sums that are sucked out of the industry by greedy profiteers, insure full employment and decent wages for the workers, and provide inexpensive, efficient, and reliable service to the shippers.

The way the long strike was conducted was a credit to all members and the leadership of Local 804. This local provides a striking contrast to the way many other locals of the Teamsters union are run. Officials of Local 804 are elected from the ranks, not appointed from outside the industry. They understand the nature of the industry, and they proved that they are not afraid to stand up to an arrogant management.

Local 804 not only carried out a tough strike against great odds, it set a good example for others in the union movement. This local is a credit to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. It may one day soon help to redeem that organization.



Militant/Blanca Fernandez

State employees in angry protest

Illinois governor tries to cheat public workers

By HOWARD SALITA

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Two thousand angry state employees converged on the state capital here Nov. 20 to demand restoration of an across-the-board \$100 monthly pay increase.

The legislature had passed the raise last December, but Democratic Governor Daniel Walker, using his amendatory veto power, reduced it from \$100 to \$50 a month.

The demonstrators, organized by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), came from throughout the state. The biggest contingent was from the Illinois Department of Public Aid, which pays such low wages that 15 percent of its employees find it necessary to supplement their incomes by applying for public aid themselves.

Large contingents also came from the state departments of labor and mental health. Most of the demonstrators were Black women.

The crowd was in a militant mood. The most common chant arose spontaneously: "Dirty Dan, the veto man!" Indignation was also high over the series of meetings Walker has held with Alabama Governor George Wallace, whom Walker recently said he could probably back for president.

State agencies had tried to threaten and intimidate people into staying away, and there were rumors that anyone who came would lose a day's pay.

Walker, who was out of town, sent a message to the legislators, urging them not to override his veto. He stated that the pay increase could only be paid for by cutting services or im-

posing new taxes.

The increase for state employees is not the only one cut by Walker's veto. The legislature two months ago gave welfare recipients a desperately needed 10 percent cost-of-living increase. This paltry sum was the first increase since 1972. Walker cut it to 5 percent.

At the same time he has ordered stepped-up harassment of welfare recipients. He is carrying out a program that in effect is randomly closing the cases of 10 percent of Aid to Dependent Children recipients.

Applicants for public assistance face new obstacles that subject them to hardship and humiliation. Food stamp distribution as well has been sharply curtailed. If AFSCME had sought to involve welfare recipients in the Springfield demonstration, it

could undoubtedly have been much larger.

Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, supported the demonstration and called for overriding Walker's veto.

"Not only Dan Walker, but the state legislators as well, are playing games with people's lives by withholding these much-needed pay increases," Reid declared in a statement to the press.

"I am happy to see people rallying in Springfield and depending on their own power, not relying on the Republicans and Democrats. These capitalist politicians have shown over and over again that they have no concern for anyone except the rich bankers and industrialists who rule Illinois and the rest of the country."

UAW officials offer no answers to layoffs

By ELAINE MITCHELL

It was just 11 months ago, in his inaugural speech as mayor of Detroit, that Democrat Coleman Young declared: "What is good for the rich people of this city is good for the poor people of this city. . . . It is clear that we have a commonality of interests. . . ."

These words have a bitter ring today for the thousands of Detroit workers who have been thrown into the streets by the auto companies, and for the tens of thousands more who stand to lose their jobs in the weeks ahead. Young's rhetoric has little impact on the auto barons when their profits are at stake.

On Nov. 18, Young joined United Auto Workers (UAW) President Leonard Woodcock in an emergency meeting with Chrysler Chairman Lynn Townsend. The subject was Chrysler's threat to permanently shut down one of its key Detroit plants, the Jefferson Avenue plant.

When the three emerged from the meeting, it was announced that Jefferson Avenue would not be shut down—not until later in 1975, that is. Townsend also promised reporters that "there certainly won't be any companywide closedown for December."

Mayor Young was reported to be "relieved." "We came here facing rumors of an imminent closedown," he said. "Now that won't happen."

The very next day, however, Chrysler announced that all but one of its six U.S. auto plants will close completely during December and the first week of January. The shutdowns mean temporary layoffs for 35,000 workers and indefinite layoffs for another 8,400.

By scheduling the layoffs around the Christmas holidays, Chrysler is chiseling its employees out of \$19-million in holiday pay, the UAW estimates. The company has magnanimously offered to donate \$1-million to the sagging unemployment benefits for its laid-off workers.

On Nov. 21, General Motors announced that it is firing 30,000 work-



Detroit unemployment line. Jobless rate in Black ghetto may soon hit 28 percent.

ers. And on Nov. 22, the Big Three—Chrysler, General Motors, and Ford—revealed plans to lay off another 39,000 production workers and 12,000 white-collar workers.

This brings the number of idled auto workers to a staggering 200,000, but the toll may be even higher by the end of the month. *U.S. News and World Report* quoted one Detroit "expert" as saying, "I'd guess that close to 300,000 Big Three employees will be laid off by Christmas"—nearly half the auto work force!

The cutbacks in auto production generate still more layoffs in the thousands of auto-related industries. In just two days last week, for example, 5,300 workers at auto-parts factories lost their jobs.

The crisis in the auto industry is having its most severe impact in Detroit, where unemployment was already up to an official rate of 8.1 percent in October, before the massive layoffs began.

Chrysler is the largest employer in the city. Mayor Young predicts that if Chrysler does close its Jefferson Avenue plant for good, the jobless rate in the Black community will surpass 28 percent.

"What happens to this industry in Detroit is going to happen to the rest of the economy if it is not stopped," he warned.

The UAW's Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) are turning out to be dangerously inadequate in this severe and prolonged downturn. SUB pays laid-off workers who have a year or more seniority up to 95 percent of their regular, straight-time pay—but only as long as the fund lasts.

Right now the mounting layoffs are using up SUB funds at four times the rate they were accumulated. General Motors, for example, has paid out \$174-million in SUB this year, leaving only \$103-million in the fund. This comes out to only \$257 for each GM employee.

For some General Motors employees, who have been laid off since last winter, SUB benefits are already expiring. The company is now paying SUB only up to 32 weeks.

In this deepening crisis, the UAW leadership stands as if it were paralyzed and powerless to counter these attacks. The union officials have not called one meeting of auto workers to discuss the emergency. They have

not called one protest demonstration or picket line to demand a halt to the layoffs. One Jefferson Avenue worker, Richard Jameson, summed it up: "The UAW has done nothing so far except beat around the bush. What we need to do is get ourselves together."

The idea of mobilizing the power of the ranks of the UAW to challenge the wave of layoffs is utterly alien to Woodcock and company. Instead, they have confined their suggestions to ways of helping the auto industry out of its slump.

The most outrageous proposal along these lines came from Irving Bluestone, head of the UAW's General Motors division. According to the Nov. 23 *New York Times*, Bluestone "has asked union leaders of G.M. locals to sound out rank-and-file members on the possibility of diverting annual wage and cost-of-living increases to the G.M. SUB fund."

In other words, instead of the company paying, the workers should take a wage cut to replenish the SUB!

UAW head Woodcock is campaigning for a lowering of pollution and safety standards—echoing the car manufacturers' complaints that complying with these standards costs too much money.

On Nov. 9, at a UAW International Executive Committee meeting in Flint, Mich., Bluestone assailed the Ford administration's economic program as "weak" and "inadequate." But then when it came time for action proposals on layoffs, Bluestone urged union officials and members to "use the Thanksgiving weekend to visit or call your congressman," and to send letters to the Democrats and Republicans in Washington.

An equally futile proposal was made by UAW Vice-President Douglas Fraser, who called for the resignation of top Chrysler managers. "When they make mistakes, they don't pay for them," he said, "workers pay for them."

The workers are forced to pay, that's for sure. But it's not a "mistake." Per-

Continued on page 26

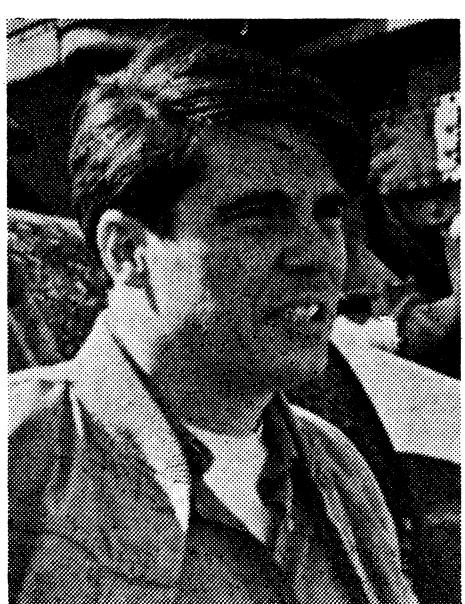
Challenger unseats Abel candidate in steel vote

By JOHN ISENHOWER

CHICAGO—Challenger Edward Sadlowski has unseated Samuel Evett, the incumbent director of District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

The vote was 39,637 to 20,158, in a court-ordered rerun of a February 1973 election stolen by the Evett machine.

Two hundred fifty federal agents



Edward Sadlowski, winner in steel workers' race, focused campaign on lack of democracy in union.

supervised this election because of the massive fraud in the previous one.

The vote was a serious defeat for I.W. Abel, the autocratic president of the USWA. Evett is part of the "official family"—that is, the top circles of Abel's bureaucratic machine—and received major, if behind the scenes, backing from Abel. Abel even sent a top aide to run Evett's campaign.

Evett had been handpicked by his predecessor, Joseph Germano, who ruled District 31 with an iron hand for decades. Evett had been a union staffer for 35 years and never worked a day of his life in the mills or shops.

Sadlowski joined the union as an 18-year-old laborer at U.S. Steel's South Works here. He served as a grievanceman and was elected to two terms as president of the 10,000-member Local 65 before joining the district staff.

Saying his campaign was a "chance to win back your union," Sadlowski called for "democracy within the union." He said, "This was the most important single issue—the right of steelworkers to decide their lives, both within the organization and in their dealings with various companies and in their communities."

Hundreds of steelworkers turned out for spirited Sadlowski rallies at union halls and plant gates throughout the

district. Nearly 15,000 more union members voted in this election than the previous one, despite cold, snowy weather during the week of voting.

District 31 extends from Chicago and Gary across northern Indiana to the Ohio border. With 130,000 members working in 500 plants, it is the largest district in the 1.4-million-member steelworkers union. As district director, Sadlowski will have a seat on the union's policy-making executive board.

During his campaign Sadlowski proposed "district-wide conferences in steel, can, wire, aluminum, tube, foundry, and warehouses to discuss the problems facing the rank and file." He said the union should "guarantee the right to vote on all contracts, dues increases, and agreements."

Sadlowski said the contract signed last spring by the USWA and the steel trusts "doesn't meet the needs of the steelworkers."

Although Sadlowski did not make the union's no-strike pledge ("Experimental Negotiating Agreement") a major issue in his campaign, he did indicate opposition to it.

In one interview he said, "Now the approach that we've taken on the experimental agreement thing is . . . completely foreign to me. I don't think that that was the proper approach at

all. Basically, it takes out of your hands, completely and totally, any form of exercising economic muscle as a working man."

Sadlowski also expressed a belief that the USWA should go beyond "bread and butter" unionism. "The union can do more than support political hacks and break bread with the boss at luncheons," he said.

"There is no reason why a local could not force the mill to better the community. Industry has taken all the resources out of the community and put nothing back."

Evett's campaign centered on red-baiting attacks against Sadlowski and his supporters. Staff representatives were sent into various mills and shops in an effort to label Sadlowski a "subversive." The vote tally shows that such tactics have lost much of their potency among steelworkers.

Union activists who were drawn into the Sadlowski campaign are beginning to discuss what to do next. For many it was their first involvement in union politics.

Some are discussing a fight to win membership ratification of contracts as the first step toward getting some control over their union. As the contract now reads the rank and file is totally hamstrung in any attempts to fight back against the bosses' attacks.

Coke-oven workers angry at new contract

By NEIL BERNS

PITTSBURGH—The 900 workers at U. S. Steel's Clairton coke works near here finally had their local contract issues settled this fall—behind their backs and without their approval—by officials of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

The agreement, which was supposed to improve the hazardous conditions under which coke-oven workers are forced to labor, was signed Nov. 6, hours before an arbitration deadline. The workers learned of it only through the news media in the following days.

The agreement for the Clairton plant was considered by all the parties involved to be of enormous importance. Clairton is the industry's largest

Neil Berns works at the Clairton coke plant and is a member of Local 1557, United Steelworkers of America.

coking operation, and the agreement there will set the pattern for the entire steel industry.

The Clairton agreement provides for an increase in the work force on the ovens, which is supposed to increase the size of operating crews and provide additional relief time. The extra relief time amounts to only 20 minutes per turn for most of the workers, however, and even that is likely to be outweighed by an increased work load during the time on the job.

Furthermore, the increase in crew size (totaling about 130 workers) only brings the work crews approximately back to the size they were 10 years ago, before the company eliminated more than 100 coke-oven jobs.

A second provision is for experimental engineering changes in the plant and equipment to improve the

work environment. The changes do not cover most of the machinery the workers feel can and should be improved. And even these "experiments" will not be expanded plant-wide unless the company feels they are successful.

Still another provision of the Clairton agreement—and the one that is the real kicker for many of the workers—calls for a complete overhaul of scheduling practices.

All operating jobs will be re-posted by the company, and even men who have held certain jobs for 20 years or more will have to rebid on their positions. They have absolutely no assurance that they will not be forced to work a new and unwanted job, on a different operating unit, with different and perhaps undesirable off days.

The reaction of the workers on the ovens to this agreement was a mixture of anger, resignation, and bitterness. Few if any voices were raised in support of the pact.

Many of the workers had expected to be sold out by the top USWA officials and thus were not very surprised when they learned that James Smith, special assistant to union President I. W. Abel, and Bernard Kleiman, USWA general counsel, had pushed through the settlement behind their backs. However, there was much anger against the local union officials who had participated in the bargaining and signing of the accord.

A number of workers tried to get the coke works grievanceman, Charlie Stokes, to come into the plant and defend and explain the agreement to them. But in the days after the signing, Stokes was a very hard man to find.

A large contingent of coke workers attended the regular monthly meeting of Local 1557, which represents all 3,900 workers at Clairton, the next Monday night to have their say. After



Allegheny Ludlum plant in Pittsburgh. Inadequate safety measures in Clairton agreement will set pattern for entire industry.

an angry and inconclusive session with the local officials, they stormed out of the meeting.

Weeks earlier the coke-oven employees had unanimously rejected an almost identical proposal brought to them by union officials for a nonbinding vote. This time no one asked the workers for their opinion before it was signed.

Most of the workers would have supported a strike over these safety and health issues, but Abel had signed away the local's right to strike over local issues in a special supplement to the basic steel contract.

The local officials, who apparently accept the international's argument that this pact was "the best we could get" from the company, would not even discuss it informally with the membership before it was an accomplished fact.

The new agreement is now being implemented at Clairton coke plant. None of the engineering improvements, as modest as they will be, have

been made yet, and the environment on the ovens is every bit as smoky now as before.

But foremen are cracking down much more these days, and discipline slips are being handed out at a record pace.

The workers' attitudes were summed up by Howard Holmes, the local's health and safety man, a coke worker who has been fighting for better conditions on the coke ovens for more than 20 years.

He expressed serious concern that the chemical cartridge respirators that the company had taken away some months back (claiming that they were no better than simple dust-flow respirators) were not returned in the new agreement.

When asked about the new pact as a whole, he shook his head in dismay and explained that even he, the health and safety man, hadn't been consulted before the signing. He had learned of it from the television reports like the rest of us.

How steelworkers can fight for job safety

By JACK RASMUS

For decades now substances produced by the burning of coal have been recognized as cancer-causing agents.

Nevertheless, the dangers of these substances, called cyclic hydrocarbons, have been consistently and consciously ignored by government officials, corporate executives, and the so-called medical experts in their employ.

This policy of cover-up continues today in spite of numerous studies proving a direct relationship between cancer and coke-oven emissions.

Coke-oven workers are 10 times more likely than other steelworkers to die of lung cancer and twice as likely to get kidney cancer.

All jobs around a coke oven are highly dangerous, but some are more dangerous than others. Topside workers have lung cancer rates twice those of other coke-oven workers since they are exposed to higher concentrations of the poisonous gases.

Gases emitted from coke ovens also irritate bronchial passages and can in time lead to increased susceptibility to lung damage, pneumonia, and other infectious respiratory diseases.

It has been nearly two and a half years since the steelworkers union officially launched a drive in response to these hazards.

The union officials' strategy has been limited to lobbying Congress for tougher safety and health standards, stricter enforcement of the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA),



and improved compensation for disabled workers.

This approach has brought little change for coke-oven workers. The standard for known cancer-producing emissions is still 0.2 milligrams per cubic meter of air—that is, the same level at which coke-oven workers contract the high rates of cancer listed above.

Enforcement of even this worthless standard has not improved. And more and more workers recognize that no compensation is adequate to pay for the suffering and death caused by cancer. Although employers and capitalist politicians seem to think otherwise,

there is no price tag for a worker's life.

A strategy based on lobbying so-called friends of labor in Congress is not the answer. These same Democratic and Republican politicians have been content to do nothing and have even participated in the sabotaging of OSHA.

Only a strategy based on independent action by coke-oven workers themselves can be the answer. As one suggestion for such action, workers could begin to raise the following specific demands on the shop floor and through their unions:

- That all coke-oven workers be immediately given comprehensive medical examinations at company expense by the doctor of their choice, and that these exams be repeated every six months.

- That proper air-supplying respirators be furnished immediately to all coke-oven workers regardless of cost as an emergency, interim measure.

- That companies begin whatever engineering changes are necessary to reduce exposure to coke-oven emissions to a maximum of 0.1 milligrams per cubic meter of air.

- That there be full-time, union-elected, company-paid safety inspectors in all major shops or departments of the plant, with no restrictions on their functioning.

- That the union safety inspector have the right to shut down any operation considered dangerous, with no loss of pay to the workers.

- That union safety committees

have the right to inspect all company files and records they consider relevant.

- That the safety committees have the right to veto any management decision that would threaten health and safety.

- That the local union have the unrestricted right to strike over health and safety grievances.

These suggestions for action on the shop floor and through collective bargaining can be strengthened and supplemented by independent action outside the workplace.

For example, coke-oven workers, steelworkers, miners, and all workers wishing to do something about job safety can form local or regional occupational safety and health committees. Such committees have already been initiated in San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and St. Louis.

Along with unionists, these committees could include interested and sympathetic health workers, doctors, lawyers, students, and others. Through such committees activists in different unions could link up with each other to exchange information and offer mutual assistance.

The committees could publicize the facts of safety and health problems throughout their communities and work with others to support environmental and health measures. They could provide a way for union militants to make valuable alliances with community groups and win important support for their cause in general outside their individual shops and unions.

Ominous signal

On Nov. 25 the USS *Constellation* entered the waters of the Arab-Persian Gulf. It was the first visit to this area by a U.S. aircraft carrier in 26 years, and the message was clear.

"The U.S. appears to be signaling that it will not accept any threat to, or interruption of, the supply of oil from Persian Gulf States to the free world," read the lead paragraph in a *Christian Science Monitor* report on the move.

The danger of a U.S. invasion of one or more of the Arab oil-producing countries is real, and it is growing.

Such a move could well set off World War III. Nevertheless, when asked in an interview published in the Nov. 25 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* whether he considered talk of U.S. military action "irresponsible," President Ford refused to answer in the affirmative.

The editors of the major capitalist dailies, quick to claim threats to world peace from the appearance of Yasir Arafat at the United Nations, have not said a word against the plans for a new imperialist war being openly discussed in their pages.

The Dec. 2 issue of *U.S. News* reports:

"Top-level Administration policy makers, in casual conversations, are not holding back from candid discussions of the possibility of armed action by the U.S. if the oil crisis becomes unmanageable."

It goes on to say that the leading British financial journal, the *Economist*, "maintains that the problem can be solved only by a sharp reduction in oil prices—a view shared by more and more American and European financial leaders."

"Military intervention," we are reassured, "is seen as a last resort—to be used only if economic and diplomatic moves fail to bring down the price of oil to a tolerable level."

The program being endorsed by an increasingly large section of the imperialist rulers is that if the oil prices are not lowered, they will go to war. What a demonstration of the parasitic and self-destructive nature of capitalism in its death agony!

In World Wars I and II the lords of capital butchered millions in their pursuit of world hegemony. When they were not engaged in war with their imperialist rivals, they were directing the slaughter of millions in the colonial countries of China, Vietnam, Korea, Algeria, Indonesia, India, and Africa.

And today the U.S. imperialists, who emerged from the carnage of the Second World War as the undisputed rulers of the capitalist world, are once again risking universal destruction in order to maintain their empire.

Brezhnev's and Ford's claims of new victories for world peace at Vladivostok are a cruel hoax. The truth is that there will be no peace until the imperialists are disarmed by the socialist revolution.

Smith Act threat

One of the government's moves to show that Watergate methods were supposedly over was to officially abolish the attorney general's list of "subversive organizations."

But now the Ford administration is saying that attorney general's list or no attorney general's list, the government has the right to spy on and harass anyone it considers "subversive."

The government has fallen back on the 1941 Smith Act convictions of 18 Socialist Workers Party and trade-union leaders to try to legally justify FBI plans to spy on the upcoming convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

This thought-control law—which was used to hound and persecute radicals throughout the witch-hunt of the 1940s and 1950s—has been rendered virtually unusable by a series of court decisions that reflected the growing demand for protection of democratic rights in this country.

If the government is able to get away with restoring the legitimacy of the Smith Act in this case, a dangerous precedent would be set. The liberties of all groups advocating fundamental social change would be threatened.

It is in the interests of all those who support democratic rights to join in a united effort, despite political differences, to defeat the government attempt to resuscitate this reactionary law.

A good way to do this is by supporting the work of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is raising funds for and publicizing the SWP and YSA suit against government surveillance and harassment of dissenters.

Teachers & busing

In an article in the Nov. 22 *Militant*, "Why teachers should support the struggle for desegregation in the Boston schools," Wendy Lyons points out the refusal of some of the bureaucratic leaders of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) to defend the Black community's right to desegregated schools in Boston.

The November issue of the AFT newspaper, *American Teacher*, confirms the rotten position of AFT President Albert Shanker and Boston Teachers Union (BTU) President John Doherty.

Doherty says that the BTU is for "quality, integrated education," but then goes on to attack the federal busing order now in effect in Boston. According to the *American Teacher*, he says the busing plan has more liabilities than benefits, because it has resulted in "overcrowding, the breakup of cohesive faculties, and inequitable burdens. . . ."

Shanker scores President Ford for his comments opposing the court busing order but then he goes on to oppose it himself.

"On busing itself," he said, "I think the question of the wisdom is separate and distinct in each individual case. . . . There were . . . cases where there were no disruptions, but after the two schools were integrated, the whites and the middle-class blacks who had enough money to move out did so, because they felt there were continuing disturbances. So, instead of integration, instead of one black school and one white school, you end up with two black schools."

"I think that there are still an awful lot of questions as to the effectiveness of busing as a means."

Shanker's "questions" are conveniently timed to convince teachers and others not to come to the aid of the embattled Black community in Boston, which is fighting against racist mob violence aimed at halting desegregation.

It is a scandalous position that should be repudiated by all honest teachers and other unionists.

*Helen Thatcher
New York, N.Y.*

Teamsters vs. UFW

Recently I was able to attend a labor history class at which Chuck O'Brien, an officer in the Teamsters union, spoke on organizing "agricultural workers."

One year ago it was next to impossible to find a Teamster representative who would touch a college campus for anything, but now the Teamsters are on a campaign to legitimize their union and to speak against the United Farm Workers (UFW).

O'Brien claimed that the farm worker issue was strictly a contest over which union has the best contract for the workers. He accused the UFW of being undemocratic, of never holding votes, and of being prejudiced toward Chicanos, all of which is untrue.

The farm workers' struggle to unionize is not an interunion, jurisdictional fight. It is a fight by the growers and their allies, the Teamsters, to deny the farm workers the union they chose as their own.

For many years the farm workers have chosen the UFW because it does represent and fight for their

interests as workers and as Chicanos.

It is very important that supporters of the farm workers all over the country step up their efforts to defend the farm workers' right to the union of their choice.

*Ann Owens
Detroit, Mich.*

Wants more on Africa

Your newspaper carries excellent in-depth analysis of workers' struggles the world over. However, so far I have failed to read an analysis of workers' struggles in the Black African states that are reactionary, except for the ones on Ethiopia that were published some time back.

*Sam Casimir
Chicago, Ill.*

Nothing's too good

I really liked the layout of the ad for the book on Israel in the Nov. 22 issue of *The Militant*. It was bold and simple to look at.

I have seen a real improvement in the graphic style of *The Militant* over the last five years, but there is always room for improvement. Certainly ideas as good as *The Militant's* deserve the best possible format.

*P. K.
Owings Mills, Md.*

Emotional?

In response to your articles in the Nov. 15 *Militant* on the Mideast, I must express my grief at your misrepresentation, especially in regard to a most misleading statement: "The Israelis, on the other hand, are attempting to maintain an exclusive Jewish state on the land stolen from another people."

I submit that the land Israelis now occupy was forfeited when the Arabs went to war in 1948, and the Israelis are the rightful owners of their land. They did not steal anything!

The part about the Jews maintaining an exclusively Jewish state is again totally false. The fact remains that the Arabs in Israel have more rights than the Arabs in Arab countries. The Arabs are represented in the Knesset [Israeli parliament] and they can vote democratically.

Do you really listen to Yasir Arafat? Haven't you heard him say what will happen to the state of Israel? Haven't you heard him, in October and November 1974, say that the Jews shall end in the sea?

Please review history. And don't side with emotions, side with facts.

*Michael Neibenzahl
San Rafael, Calif.*

Keep it up

I recently received the notification that I have been added to the subscribers list of *The Militant*. Your letter explained that my subscription was made possible by your readers and supporters who have set up the Prisoner Fund. Since I have no way of thanking these people personally, I hope you will relay my thanks to the people responsible.

I read copies of *The Militant*

Frank Lovell



Into the valley of debt...

The following guest column was written by Paul Davidson, who works on the Penn Central Railroad and is a member of the United Transportation Union.

Half-a-loaf, half-a-loaf, half-a-loaf onward, into the valley of debt went the working people of New York state on Nov. 5, voting to approve proposition number one on the ballot, a \$250-million bond issue and money-lender's dream called the Rail Preservation Bond Act.

In all fairness to the voters of New York state it must be noted that it took three tries to pass a large transportation bond issue. In 1971 the money-lenders tried to get into our pockets for \$2.5-billion (before interest) and that failed. In 1973 they tried again at the asking price of \$3.5-billion and that failed.

Well, they say third time's a charm and if you don't succeed, try, try, again. They also say half a loaf is better than none.

There is no question that much of what is promised by the New York state bond issue is needed and useful. The improvements are supposed to include the purchase of five high-speed trains to provide 90- to 105-mile-an-hour service in the New York-Albany-Buffalo corridor.

Also promised is a \$46-million program for the Long Island Rail Road including welded rail, 25 new locomotives, rehabilitation of 45 coaches, and elimination of low clearances to provide direct rail piggyback service to Long Island, getting this truck traffic off Manhattan and Queens streets and highways.

To this program of promised improvements were rallied the concerned unions, such as the United Transportation Union; the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks; and others.

It had the bipartisan support of both capitalist parties. The Penn Central railroad posted leaflets calling on its employees to vote for the bond issue, as did the unions representing those employees.

The Socialist Workers Party opposed the bond issue. Some might object, isn't the half a loaf of a yes vote, in the faint hope of a few improvements in train service, better than a vote against the bond issue?

The answer is simply no. Bond issues are a gimmick for making money. The only ones who will gain will be the banks—with the Rockefeller banks at the front of the line—that buy the bonds and collect the interest. The only part of the loaf railroad workers and riders will get is the half that doesn't exist.

Now the proposition is passed and the money will be raised through the bond issue. Working people's taxes will be flowing into the banks in the form of interest and principal payments for long beyond most of our life spans.

Some improvements will be made on the railroads but nowhere near the promises. A few jobs will be created but nowhere near what is needed in this time of rising unemployment, nowhere near what is needed to make the railroads do the job they should and can do.

Most of the money will disappear, just disappear, as has happened before, and we'll be told that it's inflation and "cost overruns." The railroads will continue to be looted by bankers with a "the public be damned" attitude, returning at some future date to the voters with an outstretched hand, mouthing promises to do better next time.

For those who want to improve the railroads rather than line Rockefeller's vaults, the task is to build an independent movement uniting the working people who earn their living on the railroads and those who use them, demanding the nationalization under our control of these steel ribbons that are as important to us now as the rivers and canals of an earlier time.

Who ever had the arrogance to say they owned as private property the Mississippi River, the Erie or Lackawanna, the Delaware or Hudson?

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



An idea for auto plants

Socialists have long maintained that the capitalist system of economic planning is irrational, and the inflation, recession, massive layoffs, and unemployment we are now seeing are as common to it as stars to the sky.

Take the present layoffs in the auto industry, which have affected many Black workers. They were expected. When the price of automobiles began rising faster than a Saturn rocket, there became fewer and fewer buyers, and the cutbacks had to come. Capitalist economic logic dictates that only the salability of a given commodity allows a worker to keep working.

So today, while auto production is being cut, the need for a cheap, safe, and efficient means of transit still exists. This need is, of course, acutely felt by those in the big-city ghettos, from Watts to Washington, D. C.

Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League, presented some of his ideas on public transit in a recent newspaper column.

Arguing for massive, low-cost public transit, Jordan wrote, "The national economy needs the jobs created by transit construction. . . . The slack in auto sales can be made up by sales of buses and railway cars. Better public transport will mean many people now jobless can consider job openings previously closed to them."

There's an idea. Why not convert the idle auto plants and put the laid-off auto workers to work turning out alternate means of public transportation?

It makes sense, but it's not profitable for the auto giants. They wouldn't stand for a massive increase in low-cost public transit construction right now because it would cut into their auto sales market.

Moreover, the recently passed federal transit bill, which is woefully inadequate, even to meet immediate needs, had to face a major scrape in Congress with the auto barons.

And as for the auto workers, they'll just have to bite the bullet.

The moral of all this bolsters another point socialists have long advanced: Take profit out of production. Then you'll see the design and administration of services geared to social needs, not only in the area of transit but in housing and school construction, medical care, and other areas where Blacks and other working people sorely need it.

The image of Chicago politicians as patronage-wielding ruff with their fingers worn to nubs from frequent dips in the public till, heading a city government thoroughly biased in its treatment of Blacks and Latinos, was sharply drawn in a recent study by the *Chicago Reporter*.

The *Reporter*, a monthly that deals with racial issues, disclosed that white politicians there have kept minority employment in city jobs at one of the lowest levels of major cities.

While the minority population of Chicago is more than 40 percent, the city government has only 24 percent Blacks and Latinos on its payrolls.

The median income for white male city employees is \$14,159, compared with a median income of \$12,491 for Black male city employees. Forty-five percent of Black and Latino city workers are paid less than \$10,000 a year, compared with 22 percent of the city's white employees.

"Although blacks have traditionally voted for Mayor Richard J. Daley's Democratic party candidate," the *Reporter* observed, "the city has not translated that support into equal jobs or equal pay for the city's minorities."

The 1975 mayoral election won't guarantee that this discrimination will end. But in this campaign Boss Daley, or whoever he picks to succeed him, will be facing strong opposition from the Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate, Willie Mae Reid, who will definitely be campaigning for equal pay and preferential hiring for Blacks, Latinos, and women too.

from front pages to last page, and when I've finished it I pass it on to other interested convicts. I'm sure I speak for all my comrades here when I say: Right on, brothers and sisters, keep up the good work. We on the inside need the reassurance that we get from *The Militant* that we have not been forgotten and that the battle for individual rights is still being waged against the monster machine of government.

Thank you again for your generosity and thoughtfulness.

A prisoner
Ohio

Loved & hated

I would love to receive *The Militant*. Your paper is hated here by the administration. I don't have to tell you that the truth hurts these people, but there is nothing they can do to stop *The Militant*. The inmates here who are aware seek each copy, because we seek the truth and solutions to our struggle, and your paper is perfect for this.

I would like to apply for the *Militant* Prisoner Fund; please add my name to your mailing lists.

A prisoner
Ohio

Continued support

Unfortunately I am unable to contribute to the James P. Cannon Fund at this time, because I am confined in a county jail with no friends, family, or money. As a matter of fact, I don't even know where the money will come from to renew my subscriptions to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. Hopefully I'll manage, because both the paper and magazine mean a great deal to me.

I have lived 27 years looking for a cause to believe in, and the Socialist Workers Party is the party with the answers I've been searching for. Perhaps after my release I can become more of a financial contributor.

I send my continued support for a socialist government. May *The Militant* outlast the military.

A prisoner
South Carolina

[*The Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contributions to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.]

Self-expression

To sell your paper is like expressing myself. The commonly known papers refuse to reveal the whole truth. They are unreliable and succeed in the closing of minds.

Keep on.
M. B.
Dorchester, Mass.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



The medium is the message—Reverend Edward Wroblewski, a Paulist priest, is heading up a new ad agency, the Human Touch. He wants to sell catsup and potato chips with truth and love and says he will only take on sponsors who are successful and "care about people." Before becoming a priest, the good father was a professional magician. Sounds almost overqualified.

Note to Meany & Co.—Apparently conscience-stricken after signing an agreement permitting a layoff of workers, the chairman of the union at the Yashika camera plant in Japan tried to commit hara-kiri, the traditional Japanese form of suicide by disembowelment.

Maybe they just meant buses—To set an example, San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto left both the Caddy and Rolls home and took a bus to the office. Nothing happened, he reported, except someone yelled in his direction, "Down with bosses!"

A gasser—A Texas oil operator named a new Louisiana natural gas area after Richard Nixon. He said it was in recognition of the former president's accomplishments.

You'd think he was a common crook—A federal judge ruled that Senator Edward Gurney of Florida—charged with bribery, conspiracy, and perjury—must be fingerprinted and

mugged the same as his six codefendants. Defense attorneys argued the government was trying to humiliate their distinguished client by subjecting him to this procedure.

Economy note—In case you can't afford a Rolls this year you might consider a car model kit of the Rolls Royce Phantom II. Only \$200.

Must be expensive—According to a *Fortune* magazine review of a book entitled *Executive Life Style*, 32 percent of husbands with an income of more than \$50,000 engage in extramarital sex, while only 13.5 percent of those with incomes under \$20,000 do.



'What wine goes best with a bowl of cereal?' © 1974 by NEA, Inc. John Berry

iLa Raza en Acción!

The case for bilingualism

LOS ANGELES—Driving along the streets of East Los Angeles, I've noticed an increase in the Spanish-language advertisements on the billboards by big national companies peddling their beer and cigarettes.

Through studies and surveys in the past two years, capitalist outfits have begun to realize the enormity of the Spanish-language market. Take, for example, a study commissioned by radio station KWKW, a Spanish-language broadcaster here in Los Angeles.

This study shows that there are more than 1.1 million persons in Southern California (Los Angeles and Orange counties) for whom Spanish is the primary language. This is based on a figure of 1.5 million Spanish-surnamed persons in this area, a conservative estimate. About 95 percent are Chicanos.

This "Spanish-culture" group, the authors of the study point out, is big enough to be the seventh-largest city in the United States, almost as big as the city of Houston. Bigger than Baltimore, Dallas, Washington, D.C., or Cleveland. Bigger than Boston and Atlanta combined. Or bigger than Minneapolis; Portland, Ore.; and Oakland, Calif., combined.

About 24 percent of the "Spanish-origin" (Chicano and Latino) population is bilingual but strongly prefers Spanish. Fifty percent uses only

Spanish. The remaining one-fourth uses primarily English. From these figures it is easy to see the reason for the heightened interest in Spanish-language advertising. Most Chicanos and other Latin Americans here simply do not pay much attention to English newspapers, radio, TV, movies, music, or billboards.

Half of all Chicanos and Latinos in Southern California will not be reached in any way except in Spanish.

An enterprising writer in *Advertising Age*, a national business publication, also observed that there are about three million Mexicans living in border towns that are potential customers for U.S. advertising. There are about 93,000,000 border crossings by Mexicans each year, mostly to go shopping.

One might expect that the number of those in the population speaking Spanish might decrease as the years go by and Chicanos become absorbed and "acculturated" to English-dominated life in the U.S. But this is not the case. The Spanish-speaking population is increasing.

This is in part a result of the fact that the Chicano population as a whole is increasing so fast. In Southern California it doubled between 1960 and 1970.

Of course, even though the Spanish language has been far from obliterated, it has been systematically

suppressed, causing great suffering among Chicanos. This is one of the main factors responsible for the low educational level and high illiteracy rate among Chicanos.

The "Spanish-culture" population of Southern California is young and working class, much more so than that of the nation as a whole. The median age is 18.5 years, compared with 27.5 for the general population. Sixty-eight percent are "blue-collar" workers, more than Blacks (61 percent) and far more than the population as a whole (34 percent). Only 11 percent are professionals, technicians, or managers, compared with 26 percent for the population as a whole.

It is obvious from these statistics that there is a tremendous necessity for making Southern California and many other parts of the U.S. bilingual. But bilingual education is practically nonexistent. All business and government services should be available in Spanish for those that desire it.

But it seems unlikely that those who ordered all the surveys, studies, and statistics will bring any of this about. Instead, they will now proceed to pour millions of dollars into new advertising campaigns, urging us to "disfrute" Coca Cola, and they will put up dozens of billboards telling us how "sabroso" their cigarettes are.

Pollution in Spanish is no better than pollution in English.

The American Way of Life

Sugar barons say 'Like it or lump it'

Sugar is now at 80 cents a pound in the supermarkets. The predictions are that it will soon be at \$1 a pound.

Sugar prices are shoving up the prices of bakery goods and other basic foods.

As the profits of the sugar companies soar, and consumer outrage rises along with them, the government is trying to look as though it's doing something about the situation.

"We are determined to get to the bottom of the rising controversy over sugar prices," said Treasury Secretary William Simon.

The Council on Wage and Price Stability opened hearings on the matter. The usual studies, investigations, and hot air came out.

Who's responsible for the price rises? The sugar corporations and their willing government stooges have lots of answers.

Some of them are even trying to blame the Arabs—who are being held responsible for everything from the energy crisis to unemployment—for the skyrocketing sugar prices. According to the

New York Times, some of the sugar barons are arguing that the cause of the problem is "speculative purchases of sugar by Arab nations that are using the profits from oil to make additional money in sugar."

But blaming this one on the Arabs is difficult. So the "experts" grappled around for more answers. They came up with one of their favorites: the population "explosion," especially in the colonial world.

This theme is repeated in a full-page advertisement placed by the Amstar Corporation (whose profits are up 400 percent) in the newspapers. The ad sounds strangely similar to all those explanations offered by the oil monopolies last spring, trying to tell us why *their* profits were so high.

Amstar blames all the underdeveloped countries. It says the cause of high sugar prices is that "world population is growing" and the "developing nations" are demanding "attractive foods like sugar." According to Amstar, it's all a simple matter of the law of supply and demand, which

nobody can do anything about.

The third culprit the government and the corporations are citing as responsible for high prices is—you guessed it, the sugar workers themselves. Labor costs are too high!

The sugar growers complain that U.S. farm workers just won't do the backbreaking work of sugarcane harvesting for the going rate of \$2.45-an-hour. So the growers have imported some 8,000 workers from the West Indies, who will do it for more reasonable wages.

The real reason for the soaring prices—monopoly control and price-fixing—is, of course, being "looked into." In fact, the Justice Department has been "looking into" sugar company price-gouging for two years, and probably will be "looking into" it next year too. But even if there are a few indictments, the fines can easily be paid for out of the bulging profit pot.

So what is the government's answer? Pay the \$1-a-pound, or stop eating sugar. That's the way the system works. —CAROLINE LUND

Justice Dept. tries to pass the buck on FBI's 'counterintelligence' plan

Since the release of a Justice Department report on the FBI COINTELPRO spy program, there has been a running debate over which officials share responsibility for the counterintelligence project. COINTELPRO was begun in 1956 by J. Edgar Hoover to "disrupt" and "neutralize" Black organizations, civil rights groups, and radical organizations.

According to *New York Times* reporter John Crewdson, a draft version of the Justice Department report insisted that there was no evidence that anyone outside the bureau had known of Cointelpro while it was in effect. . . .

"The final report, however, was inexplicably amended to take note of 'evidence' that at least three and possibly all five of the Attorneys General who served from 1958 until 1969 had, in fact, been told of 'certain aspects' of Cointelpro. . . ."

There is speculation, Crewdson writes, that the change in the report was "a concession exacted by Clarence M. Kelley, the current F. B. I. chief, who was said to be displeased with the Attorney General's decision to make the Cointelpro record public."

Kelley, who sees no reason why the FBI should take the rap alone, has revealed that there are five memos from Hoover to attorneys general discussing COINTELPRO. The memos went to William Rogers, Robert Kennedy, Nicholas Katzenbach, Ramsey Clark, and John Mitchell.

Of these five, four are still alive, but none has admitted that they knew all along what Hoover was up to. It's getting harder now, though, for them to deny it.

Crewdson writes that one of the former attorneys general "said he had heard 'something' about F. B. I. activities directed against the Ku Klux Klan, but had never heard the term 'Cointelpro' or known of efforts against such relatively moderate or-



Newark, 1967. Justice Department ordered FBI to step up its surveillance of Black activists in response to ghetto rebellions.

ganizations as the late Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference." Crewdson doesn't name the official, but it is apparently Katzenbach.

Crewdson quotes a second former attorney general, apparently Clark, as saying all he knew was "what I've read in the papers."

But, writes Crewdson, the unnamed former official "pointed out that the F. B. I. under Mr. Hoover was a prodigious producer of memorandums and that he would 'literally have sometimes several inches of F. B. I. memos a day' to contend with."

"It was entirely possible, he said, that Mr. Hoover had slipped some unnoticed phrase or paragraph into such a pile dealing with some aspect of Cointelpro, with the intention of extracting it later as proof that he had kept his superiors informed about the darker side of the bureau's activities."

This slippery explanation doesn't hold much water. It sounds just like a rerun of Nixon's claim that he was oblivious to the criminal activities of his subordinates, when, in fact, he gave the orders for the "dirty tricks."

Now there is documentary proof that at least one attorney general, Ramsey Clark, gave orders for illegal activities during his term of office from 1967 to 1969. The evidence is contained in a recently published transcript of a hearing held last spring by the House Committee on Internal Security (HISC).

Clark was head of the Justice Department during the time when the Black communities exploded in rebellions against centuries of racist oppression. The U. S. ruling class was deeply frightened by these upsurges, particularly the explosions in the summer of 1967.

The capitalists responded to the

Blacks' protests not only with tanks and shoot-to-kill orders, but also with stepped-up surveillance of Black activists.

In a Sept. 14, 1967, memo to J. Edgar Hoover, Clark wrote:

"In view of the seriousness of the riot activity across the country, it is most important that you use the maximum available resources, investigative and intelligence, to collect and report all facts bearing upon the question as to whether there has been or is a scheme or conspiracy by any group of whatever size, effectiveness or affiliation, to plan, promote or aggravate riot activity."

Clark acknowledged that he was already receiving FBI reports "about riots and the activity of certain groups and individuals," and he said such surveillance should be intensified. He particularly requested Hoover to send more undercover agents into Black organizations for this purpose:

"Moreover, sources or informants in black nationalist organizations, *Continued on page 26*



CLARK: See no evil, hear no evil?

Kelley defends COINTELPRO

New questions raised on FBI spying

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Have the American people finally gotten the full story on the FBI's COINTELPRO program to "disrupt" and "neutralize" socialist, Black, and other radical organizations?

The Department of Justice, in releasing a report on COINTELPRO Nov. 18, said yes. But a congressional hearing held two days later indicated just the opposite.

The House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights heard testimony Nov. 20 from FBI Director Clarence Kelley, Deputy Attorney General Laurence Silberman, and Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen.

Petersen headed the "investigation" of COINTELPRO, which revealed that the counterintelligence program was begun in 1956 by J. Edgar Hoover. Its targets included the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, "Black extremist organizations," and the "New Left."

The report termed COINTELPRO's tactics "abhorrent in a free society." The methods listed included the distribution of derogatory material on radical groups to the news media; the mailing of anonymous letters to or-

ganizations to "create dissension and cause disruption"; and FBI visits to landlords, employers, and parents of target group members.

FBI memos on COINTELPRO have suggested that other, more serious methods were also employed. One memo, written by Hoover shortly before the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, urged agents to "prevent the rise of a messiah" in the Black movement. There are many unanswered questions about FBI involvement in King's subsequent assassination.

The Petersen report claims that the COINTELPRO program was terminated in 1971.

When asked at the Nov. 20 hearing if COINTELPRO had indeed ended, FBI chief Kelley responded in typical government double-talk: "The COINTELPRO is not in existence as such at this time."

The nation's top cop flatly stated that the COINTELPRO tactics were not "abhorrent" in his opinion, but justified, given the protest movements of the 1960s.

Asked by Representative Jerome Walde (D-Calif.) if he would ever approve such unconstitutional measures in the future, Kelley said yes, if "there

would be a feeling on my part that it would perhaps be a good idea."

(The *Washington Star-News* reported that later the FBI insisted that this part of the record be "corrected," so that Kelley would be shown as saying "that he would in no circumstances do anything illegal.")

The undocored record, however, establishes that the FBI considers all the COINTELPRO methods perfectly legitimate when dealing with "subversives." There is therefore no reason to believe that these methods are not in use today. Indeed, at the hearing, Walde stated that he was "not persuaded yet" that the secret spy plan had been stopped.

In his testimony, Petersen also indicated that the Justice Department has plenty to hide. Petersen said his original report on COINTELPRO was 39 pages long, but 18 pages were cut out before it was released to the public. Silberman interjected at this point to tell the committee that the deletions were necessary for "security."

When asked by Representative Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) if the Justice Department would alert those who had been victims of COINTELPRO, Silberman snapped back that anyone

who wants such information can file for it under the Freedom of Information Act!

"Some COINTELPRO activities were carried out at the request of members of Congress, weren't they?" asked Representative Robert McClory (R-Ill.). Kelley replied, yes, members of the House Appropriations Committee had made such requests, but the FBI couldn't reveal their names.

Kelley also admitted that Robert Kennedy, Nicholas Katzenbach, and Ramsey Clark received reports on COINTELPRO during their terms as attorney general.

Two days before, Ramsey Clark had denied knowing of COINTELPRO while he was at the Justice Department. "The idea that I would have tolerated any Government agent engaging in any disruptive activity is false and unthinkable," Clark insisted to the *New York Times*.

At the hearing, however, Silberman said the Justice Department may release correspondence on COINTELPRO between the FBI and the attorney general's office. The three attorneys general named, he said, were made aware of the program, "particularly its targets."

Gov't revives Smith Act to justify spy plan

By CAROLINE LUND

On Nov. 20 the government filed its response to the legal motion by the Young Socialist Alliance for an injunction to stop the FBI from spying on the YSA convention scheduled for Dec. 28 to Jan. 1.

The government's reply says in essence: Yes, the FBI intends to, and has a right to, send undercover informants to find out what is said at the convention and to make lists of who is there.

Why? Because, the government claims, the YSA is the "youth arm" of the Socialist Workers Party, whose purpose is supposedly the violent overthrow of the government.

The YSA says the FBI has no right to spy on its convention and rejects the government's contention that working for a socialist America is criminal activity.

The YSA filed its motion in October, after finding out from an employee at the St. Louis hotel where the convention will be held that the FBI was preparing to spy on the gathering. The FBI had asked to know what rooms the YSA would be using.

The YSA immediately demanded an injunction against the spying, explaining that such surveillance stigmatized the YSA as something illegal, thus inhibiting young people from coming, and violating the YSA's First Amendment right to freedom of expression and assembly.

Andrew Pulley, YSA national chairperson, disputed the government's claim that the YSA is the "youth arm" of the SWP.

"The government claims this in order to try to pin the 'subversive' tag on the YSA, as it was pinned on the SWP for more than 30 years," he said. "But although the YSA and SWP both see the need for a socialist society and share common views on how to reach that goal, the YSA is an independent socialist youth organization. We elect our own leadership and make our own political decisions."

And indeed, the government does not have even a shred of evidence to back up its claim that the youth organization is "subversive."

Thought-control law

To try to justify its harassment of the SWP and YSA, the government has fallen back on the notorious Smith Act.

Passed in 1940, this law deals with so-called subversive activities. It outlaws membership in groups that "advocate" or "conspire to advocate" the "overthrow" of the government "by force or violence."

By proscribing "advocacy," the law goes far beyond laws that ban so-called subversive actions. The Smith Act makes it a crime to even express

certain ideas. It is a classic example of repressive thought-control legislation.

The Smith Act was first used to convict 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party in 1941. They were imprisoned for terms of 12 to 18 months.

The act was subsequently used to prosecute 146 supporters of the Communist Party (CP) during the witch-hunt of the late 1940s and early 1950s.

As the political atmosphere in this country changed in the late 1950s and 1960s, with the rise of the civil rights and antiwar movements, the Smith Act was drastically undermined by Supreme Court decisions. The general legal opinion now is that it would be virtually impossible for the government to get a conviction under the Smith Act.

Why then is the government attempting to revive this discredited law in the YSA case?

Attorney general's list

Until recently, the government had another pretext it could use to try to justify its harassment of the SWP, CP, and other political groups—the attorney general's list of "subversive organizations." But on June 4 of this year President Nixon announced that this list was officially abolished. This was done under the pressure of growing public sensitivity to democratic rights in the wake of the Watergate revelations.

The attorney general's list had the advantage for the rulers that the government never had to prove any of the groups on it were "subversive"—the attorney general's assertion was enough.

Since the abolition of the attorney general's list, the government has admitted it has another, secret, list of 52 organizations suspected of being "subversive." But this secret list does not have the same legal standing as its predecessor. So to justify its spying on the YSA, the government has been forced to resort to the Smith Act.

"The fact that the government has had to dredge up this witch-hunt act is a sign of the weakness of their case claiming the right to harass us," SWP leader Peter Camejo told *The Militant*.

"But at the same time," he continued, "this attempt to dust off the Smith Act poses a threat to all those who are trying to change this society."

Comprehensive challenge

The YSA motion to prevent FBI spying at its convention is part of a broader suit filed by the SWP and YSA in July 1973 that makes a comprehensive challenge to all forms of government surveillance and harassment against socialists, Black groups,



Militant/Mark Satinoff

1972 YSA convention. FBI asserts right to privacy doesn't apply at political conventions.

and labor and other political organizations.

The government has been stalling in its response to this suit but was forced to answer the YSA injunction motion because the court has to rule on it before the convention begins Dec. 28.

The government's reliance on the 1941 Smith Act conviction of SWP members to justify spying on the YSA convention suggests that this may well be the basis of its defense against the socialists' suit as a whole.

Catch-22

The government brief defending the FBI spy plans consists of the type of arguments that could come straight out of *Catch-22*.

First, the government says that since the YSA convention is open to all those who are interested in socialist ideas, the YSA has no right to object to the presence of FBI informers!

Furthermore, the government's brief argues that the YSA has no right to privacy of its convention. It says that "only the most intimate phases of personal life have been held to be protected under the constitutional right to privacy. . . . There can be no claim that the activities of the St. Louis convention fall within this protected sphere."

If this argument is upheld, it would mean the FBI has the right to send undercover informers into virtually any political or trade-union gathering.

The government also claims that the FBI's keeping of lists of those who attend YSA conventions won't cause them any harm. This is contradicted by evidence submitted by the YSA showing that five former or current YSA members were threatened with loss of government jobs because of charges that they attended a YSA convention or other YSA gatherings. Information on their attendance was supplied to the Civil Service Commission by the FBI.

The government's answer? It says that while the FBI provides information to the Civil Service Commission, it "makes no recommendations regarding clearance or disapproval of individuals for Federal employment." So, they claim, it's not the FBI's fault if the people they inform on get fired!

Furthermore, the government's brief notes that one YSA member, who was fired from his job as a letter carrier because of his political activities, was able through court action to get his job back as well as back pay. The argument is: Even if FBI spying causes some YSAers to lose their jobs, they can always challenge this

through the courts and may win!

Then comes the clincher. The brief says that even "should the Court find . . . that there is actual harm" that will come to YSA convention participants, "the government contends that its actions in this case are justified. . . ."

The "justification" is that the FBI informers supposedly have to be at the convention to "deter crime." The government brief cites seditious conspiracy laws and says the YSA has to be watched to determine "whether the YSA and SWP, which advocate the overthrow of the government, intend to take imminent and unlawful steps toward that end. . . ."

But the very fact the government cites earlier—that the YSA convention is open—contradicts this ridiculous attempt to picture the convention as a meeting to plot some sort of illegal conspiracy.

Scythes case

The flimsiness of the government's "subversive" charge is indicated by the fact that even the 1941 Smith Act convictions of the 18 SWP members were subsequently held by a federal court to be not legally justified. This ruling came in the case of George Scythes.

Scythes was a Canadian who came to the United States in 1933 and joined the SWP in 1938. In 1960 the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service ordered him deported on the grounds of his membership in the SWP, which was said to be "subversive."

When Scythes challenged this order in court, the government's only evidence of SWP "subversiveness" was the "Declaration of Principles" adopted by the SWP in 1938 but withdrawn by the party in 1940, and testimony from three FBI informers. This Declaration of Principles was the same document the government relied upon heavily in the 1941 Smith Act trial. It is also cited in the government's answer to the current YSA motion for an injunction.

The court in the Scythes case noted: "Government counsel, during oral argument, admitted, however, that he could point to no passage in the 'Declaration' which advocated the violent overthrow of the Government."

The decision characterizes the passages from the Declaration of Principles and the SWP constitution, both of which were cited in the 1941 Smith Act trial, as "ambiguous and abstract." And it concludes: "We think that the characterization of the Socialist Work-



'Oh, him? . . . Well, heck, we only turn him loose when it's necessary.'

How Cannon answered 'subversive' charge during 1941 Smith Act trial

In response to the Young Socialist Alliance challenge to FBI plans to spy on its upcoming convention, the government has argued that the spying is necessary because the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party supposedly advocate "the overthrow of the government."

The main legal "evidence" the government musters up for this conclusion is the record of the 1941 Smith Act trial of 28 SWP and trade-union leaders. This prosecution was the first use of the thought-control Smith Act, which had been passed in 1940.

The government's answer to the YSA cites a document that was relied on heavily by the prosecutors in 1941—the "Declaration of Principles" adopted at the founding convention of the SWP in 1938 but withdrawn by the party in 1940, 34 years ago.

Quoting this document, the government brief says, "The SWP further states in its Declaration of Principles that it is a 'fatal illusion' that the changes which it desires can be accomplished through the ballot box." The very same charges the government is now making against the SWP and YSA to try to justify its illegal surveillance and harassment of socialists were answered by SWP leader James P. Cannon on the witness stand in the Smith Act trial in 1941.

Tried in the midst of the jingoistic



Confederate troops attack Fort Sumter, opening Civil War. Slaveholders' rebellion is example from U.S. history of violent resistance by rulers to peaceful social change.

hysteria built up to prepare for U.S. entry into World War II, Cannon and 17 other defendants were convicted of advocating overthrow of the government by force and of urging insubordination in the armed forces. They served 12-to-18-month prison sentences.

Following are excerpts from the official court record of the trial, published by Pathfinder Press under the title *Socialism on Trial*.

Question: Now, what is the opinion of Marxists with reference to the change in the social order, as far as its being accompanied or not accompanied by violence?

Answer: It is the opinion of all Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence.

Q: Why?

A: That is based, like all Marxist

doctrine, on a study of history, the historical experiences of mankind in the numerous changes of society from one form to another, the revolutions which accompanied it, and the resistance which outlived classes invariably put up against the new order. Their attempt to defend themselves against the new order, or to suppress by violence the movement for the new order, has resulted in every important social transformation up to now being accompanied by violence.

Q: Who, in the opinion of Marxists, initiated that violence?

A: Always the ruling class; always the outlived class that doesn't want to leave the stage when the time has come. They want to hang on to their privileges, to reinforce them by violent measures, against the rising majority and they run up against the mass violence of the new class, which history has ordained shall come to power.

Win the majority

Q: What is the opinion of Marxists, as far as winning a majority of the people to Socialist ideas?

A: Yes, that certainly is the aim of the Party. That is the aim of the Marxist movement, has been from its inception. Marx said the social revolution of the proletariat—I think I can quote his exact words from memory—"is a movement of the immense majority in the interests of the immense majority." He said this in distinguishing it from previous revolutions which had been made in the interests of minorities, as was the case in France in 1789.

Q: What would you say is the opinion of Marxists as far as the desirability of a peaceful transition is concerned?

A: The position of the Marxists is that the most economical and preferable, the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully. . . .

Q: Can you give us examples in American history of a minority refusing to submit to a majority?

A: I can give you a very important one. The conception of the Marxists is that, even if the transfer of political power from the capitalists to the proletariat is accomplished peacefully, then the minority, the exploiting capitalist class, will revolt against the new regime, no matter how legally it is established.

I can give you an example in American history. The American Civil War resulted from the fact that the Southern slaveholders couldn't reconcile themselves to the legal parliamentary victory of Northern capitalism, the election of President Lincoln.

Q: Can you give us an example outside of America where a reactionary minority revolted against a majority in office?

A: Yes, in Spain—the coalition of workers' and liberal parties in Spain got an absolute majority in the elections and established the People's Front Government. This government was no sooner installed than it was confronted with an armed rebellion, led by the reactionary capitalists of Spain.

Q: Then the theory of Marxists and the theory of the Socialist Workers Party, as far as violence is concerned, is a prediction based upon a study of history, is that right?

A: Well, that is part of it. It is a



CANNON: 'We aim to win the majority of people to socialist ideas.'

prediction that the outlived class, which is put in a minority by the revolutionary growth in the country, will try by violent means to hold on to its privileges against the will of the majority. That is what we predict.

Of course, we don't limit ourselves simply to that prediction. We go further, and advise the workers to bear this in mind and prepare themselves not to permit the reactionary outlived minority to frustrate the will of the majority. . . .

Q: What is the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party as far as advocating violent revolution is concerned?

A: No, so far as I know, there is no authority among the most representative teachers of Marxism for advocating violent revolution. If we can have the possibility of peaceful revolution by the registration of the will of the majority of the people, it seems to me it would be utterly absurd to reject that, because if we don't have the support of the majority of the people, we can't make a successful revolution anyhow.

Q: Explain the sentence that I read from page 6 of the Declaration of Principles, Government's Exhibit I:

"The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary method, is an illusion."

A: That goes back to what I said before, that we consider it an illusion for the workers to think that the ruling class violence will not be invoked against them in the course of their efforts to organize the majority of the people.

Q: What is meant by the expression "overthrow of the capitalist state"?

A: That means to replace it by a Workers' and Farmers' Government; that is what we mean. . . .

Communist Manifesto

Q: You are acquainted with the *Communist Manifesto*, are you not?

A: Yes.

Q: And you remember—I think it is the last clause of the *Manifesto*, where Marx and Engels, co-authors, say: "We disdain to conceal our aims," and

mention something to the effect about violent revolution. Do you remember that?

A: Well, it says, "We disdain to conceal our aims. We openly say that they can be achieved only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social institutions."

Q: When was the *Communist Manifesto* written?

A: 1848.

Q: Subsequent to the writing of the *Communist Manifesto*, did Marx ever write anything with reference to the possibility of a peaceful revolution in democratic countries?

A: Yes.

Q: Where was that written, and explain to the jury what he said.

A: Well, the most authoritative place where it is stated and explained is in the introduction to the first volume of Marx's master-work, called *Capital*, the introduction by Frederick Engels. . . .

Q: What did he say in that introduction?

A: This was the English translation of *Capital* and the introduction was presenting the volume to the English public. Engels stated—I think I can quote almost literally—that he thinks the work of a man who, during his entire life was of the opinion that the social transformation in England, at least, could be effected by purely peaceful and legal means—he thought such a book should have a hearing from the English public. That is very close to a literal report of what he stated in this introduction.

[Here is the exact quote referred to: "Surely, at such a moment, the voice ought to be heard of a man whose whole theory is the result of a lifelong study of the economic history and condition of England, and whom that study led to the conclusion that, at least in Europe, England is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means. He certainly never forgot to add that he hardly expected the English ruling classes to submit, without a 'pro-slavery rebellion,' to this peaceful and legal revolution."]

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Boudin speaks in Phila. for civil liberties group

PHILADELPHIA—Leonard Boudin, noted civil liberties attorney, addressed three campus meetings here Nov. 20. The meetings were organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is supporting the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against illegal government surveillance and victimization of political dissenters.

Boudin, who is the chief attorney for the socialist suit, spoke at the law schools of Temple University and the University of Pennsylvania. At the University of Pennsylvania law school, Boudin referred to his own career to discuss the field of civil liberties law. Describing the era of McCarthyism, Boudin, who defended many of its victims, said, "It all began with the Trotskyists when the government prosecuted them under the Smith Act [in 1941]. Many who didn't come to their defense later suffered under the same law."

Boudin recalled that, at the height of the witch-hunt, the Supreme Court decided that the New York Transit Authority could fire, on the grounds of national security, a worker whose only job was opening and closing car doors.

Boudin said he was gratified to have played a role in reversing that tide of reaction and reasserting the importance of the First Amendment guarantee of free speech against government attack. He said he doesn't see

such a period coming again. Instead, he anticipates a period in which it will be possible to extend civil liberties into new areas, such as prison law, immigration law, and attacks on government surveillance and government secrecy.

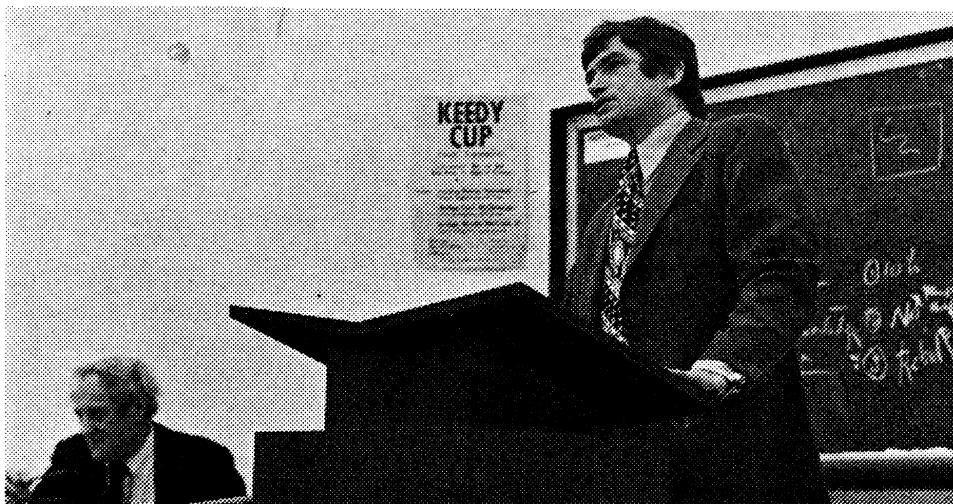
That evening, Boudin spoke on Watergate and civil liberties to an audience of 200 people at the University of Pennsylvania. The meeting was chaired by Kay Camp, international president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and a sponsor of the PRDF.

During the question period, Boudin stressed the importance of the YSA and SWP suit.

The suit, he said, "seeks to protect all minority parties against government disruption. The government singling out a certain group for its ideas and then subjecting it to disruption programs threatens not only minority parties but everyone."

"The SWP case is also important because it will force even more revelations from the government," Boudin added.

John Ratliff, a national staff member of the PRDF, spoke along with Boudin at the meetings here. Ratliff explained the history of the SWP case and the role of the PRDF. He emphasized the evidence already turned up that disproves government claims that the illegal aspects of FBI "counterintelligence programs" were ended in 1971.



John Ratliff, of Political Rights Defense Fund, speaking to law students. At left is Leonard Boudin.

Seattle transit workers strike to end split shifts

By TONY ABDO

SEATTLE—All Seattle and King County buses have been idled since Nov. 9, when more than 1,000 transit workers voted almost unanimously to go out on strike.

The rank and file of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 587 rejected a proposed one-year contract recommended by union officials. They voted to strike Metro Transit and to refuse to comply with a court injunction against the strike if one is handed down.

Militancy has been high among the transit workers because of the miserable working conditions they face. Key to the rejection of the original proposal was its failure to guarantee a straight eight-hour day.

Most drivers now either work split shifts—one in the morning and one in the evening, with no pay for the time they are on standby or in between—or they work shifts of four or five hours one day and 10 or 12 the next.

Other key demands in the strike are for a cost-of-living clause and an increase in sick-leave benefits.

Metro Transit claims it doesn't have enough money to grant a better settlement, and that doing so would mean higher fares and an end to special services for the elderly and the handicapped.

This argument hasn't carried much weight with rank-and-file transit workers, who know their wages are \$1 to \$1.50 an hour lower than in most other West Coast cities.

The local press is slanting its coverage to try to show on the one hand that there has been no disruption of major services, and on the other that the strikers are causing undue hardship to the public. Both local papers have attacked the union for striking rather than continuing work without a contract.

Management is now pressing for renegotiating a three-year contract rather than another one-year agreement like the one that was rejected. They hope to pawn off the same terms in a different form.

But at this time Seattle transit workers are insistent that they want a good contract or none at all.

Socialists challenge Michigan 'reform' law

By TIM CRAINE

DETROIT—On Oct. 30 the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a lawsuit in state court here on behalf of the Michigan Socialist Workers 1974 campaign committee. The suit challenges the constitutionality of the state's campaign disclosure law as applied to the socialist committee.

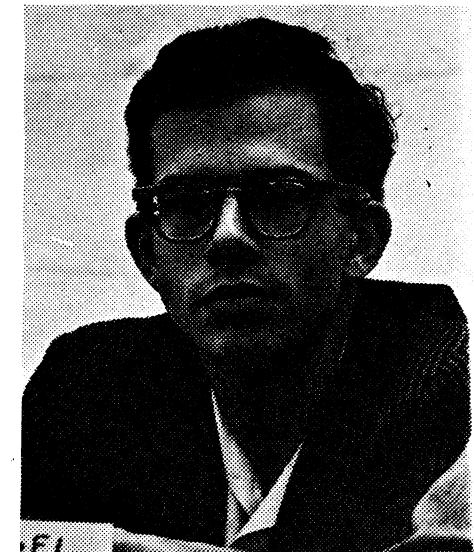
Under Michigan law the names, addresses, and places of employment of all campaign contributors—even those donating as little as 25 cents—must be made available to the government, along with identities of all those to whom the committee makes expenditures.

In his statement in court, attorney Ronald Reosti pointed to recent revelations, including the FBI's COINTELPRO "SWP Disruption Program," as evidence of "a systematic and sweeping official government program to provide blanket surveillance of the SWP and its supporters and to intimidate members and supporters of the SWP from engaging in political activity."

Under these circumstances, for the government to require the names of contributors to the socialist election campaign is a severe violation of civil liberties, Reosti argued.

At a news conference after the court arguments, Robin Maisel, 1974 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan, pointed to affidavits documenting dozens of cases of harassment and attempted intimidation of SWP supporters in Michigan.

Maisel stated, "Two months ago I went to the state police to demand that the 'Red squad' turn over my files. They have not yet done so, although they admit to having the names of more than 50,000 persons on file. I will not add the names of my campaign contributors to their files."



MAISEL: 'I will not add names of my campaign contributors to police files.'

The socialists have asked the court for a temporary order restraining the state from requiring disclosure while the law's legality is being contested.

Meanwhile, as in other states, representatives of Common Cause, the so-called citizens' lobby, have mobilized opposition to the socialists' fight against the disclosure law. Supporters of the socialists' civil liberties have been making an effort to reach members of Common Cause on the issue and urge them to work for the reversal of their organization's position.

Copies of the "Open Letter" to John Gardner, the head of Common Cause, signed by Democratic members of Congress John Conyers and Ronald Dellums and other prominent individuals, were circulated at a Common Cause-sponsored "town meeting" in Detroit Oct. 22. Eleven people signed a petition supporting the socialists' right to exemption from the disclosure requirement, including the 1974 Human Rights Party candidates for governor and lieutenant governor.

Protests in 30 cities hit high cost of living

Rallies, marches, and pickets took place in more than 30 cities Nov. 16 to protest the rising cost of living.

About 1,000 people turned out for a rally at Bryant Park in New York City. Speakers included Reverend W. Sterling Cary, president of the National Council of Churches; Clarissa Gilbert, a leader of the National Student Association; Sydney Von Luther, state senator from Manhattan; and Jane Benedict, chairperson of the Metropolitan Council on Housing. The rally was supported by a number of local politicians, including Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton.

More than 600 people marched from John F. Kennedy Plaza to Independence Mall in Philadelphia. Participants were from a number of unions and radical organizations including the Socialist Workers Party, New American Movement, and the Communist Party. Among the speakers was Ken Yablonski, representing the United Mine Workers (UMWA) leadership. The action was endorsed by the Philadelphia city council and several city council members and state representatives attended.

About 400 came to the action in San Francisco. The main speakers were Curtis McLaine, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6, and Cecil Williams of Glide Memorial Church.

The Allegheny County Labor Council endorsed the rally in Pittsburgh, which drew 100 people. Mayor John Pribanic of McKeesport was the major speaker.

Avis Foley, vice-chairperson of the Women's Political Caucus, and John Evans, Black former television announcer, spoke at a rally in Minneapolis.

James Craig, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America spoke to a rally of 50 in Denver.

The Nov. 16 actions in each city were organized by local coalitions.



Militant/Jon Flanders

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

DECEMBER 6, 1974

Government 'modernizes' prisons

Britain: psychological torture for 'troublemakers'

The growing use of torture by the police and by prison administrations in virtually all countries, which Amnesty International documented in massive detail last year, is one of the telling indicators of the decline of the capitalist system.

As the capitalist powers go to increasingly savage lengths to keep the profit system from being junked, sadism displaces humane conduct and becomes the norm. Thieu's "tiger cages" with their population of political prisoners can be said to symbolize the crumbling of capitalist civilization.

The accuracy of this judgment has been confirmed once again by a current development in Britain that is all the more significant because of the image sedulously maintained by the British ruling class of concern for human values.

Two prisons, Wakefield and Wormwood Scrubs, have been undergoing modernization, but in a way so secret that not even Britain's criminologists have been informed of the details. The secrecy was not broken until October 6 when the London *Sunday Times* brought it to public attention, citing a confidential working paper of the Home Office Prison Department.

The working paper tells about two "control units," in which intensive solitary confinement is used with "troublesome prisoners."

"The Wakefield block, opened on August 1, can house 39 men and the one in Wormwood Scrubs, when finished, will take 28," reports the *Sunday Times*. "They are intended for serious and persistent troublemakers, 'subverters of prison order,' in the jargon of the document. . . .

"According to the document, the control units, as they are called, are designed to provide a strict régime, 'where the facilities are deliberately austere,' and the organisation is so structured that the troublemaker 'will come to realise' that only by co-operation with the prison staff can he hope to regain his normal privileges."

The inmates will be received on a national basis, so as to provide "temporary relief" for other prisons. But this relief may be anything but temporary. The *minimum* time a prisoner will spend in the control unit is *six months*.

This is divided into two phases, each of ninety days. "The first is called the basic phase," continues the *Sunday Times*. "During this time the prisoner is in solitary confinement in a special cell for 23 hours a day. He has one hour's exercise. Worship is apparently the only time he is in contact with anyone else."

The British ruling class, because of their Christian outlook, are naturally

meticulous about providing for worship even in such hellholes.

"The running of the units is also deliberately organised so that 'the opportunities for confrontation with the prison staff are reduced.' In other words, these prisoners do not even have the normal contact with prison officers for slopping out, and at meal times, that even men in solitary confinement enjoy.

"They are allowed books, photographs, birthday and Christmas cards, but in other ways their personal facilities are deliberately limited. For instance, they are allowed only the pen they take in with them; should it run

"associative phase." In this, the subject is permitted to mix with other prisoners in the control unit for work and leisure.

"During phase two, as in phase one, if a prisoner misbehaves in any way, he reverts back to day one—that is, he starts the solitary phase all over again. Only after 180 days of continuous good behaviour and continuous work is the prisoner allowed back into the normal prison régime."

Confinement in a control unit is not regarded by the prison department as punishment but as a simple administrative change of location. "It follows from this," explains the *Sunday*

Molly Newell, who went to visit her brother Michael Williams, who has done four years of a fourteen-year sentence for armed robbery.

"To begin with, she was separated from the other visitors on her arrival. . . . It was made very clear to her that she was not to ask her brother any questions about the 'treatment' he was receiving in the control unit and she was then taken, between two prison officers, to a small room.

"The officers sat next to Mrs Newell and her brother throughout the visit, making any personal conversation on family affairs very difficult. It was ended after one hour—whereas all the other [maximum security] prisoners that afternoon had visits lasting up to two hours as they are entitled to under Home Office regulations. She was also told, she says, that she could not visit her brother again until she heard from the prison. . . ."

The secrecy about the control units works a special hardship on relatives. They may not know that a prisoner has been transferred to a control unit. He cannot even write if he did not take a pen with him. And the Home Office does not inform relatives of the change, so that the shift in visiting arrangements is learned only at the last minute.

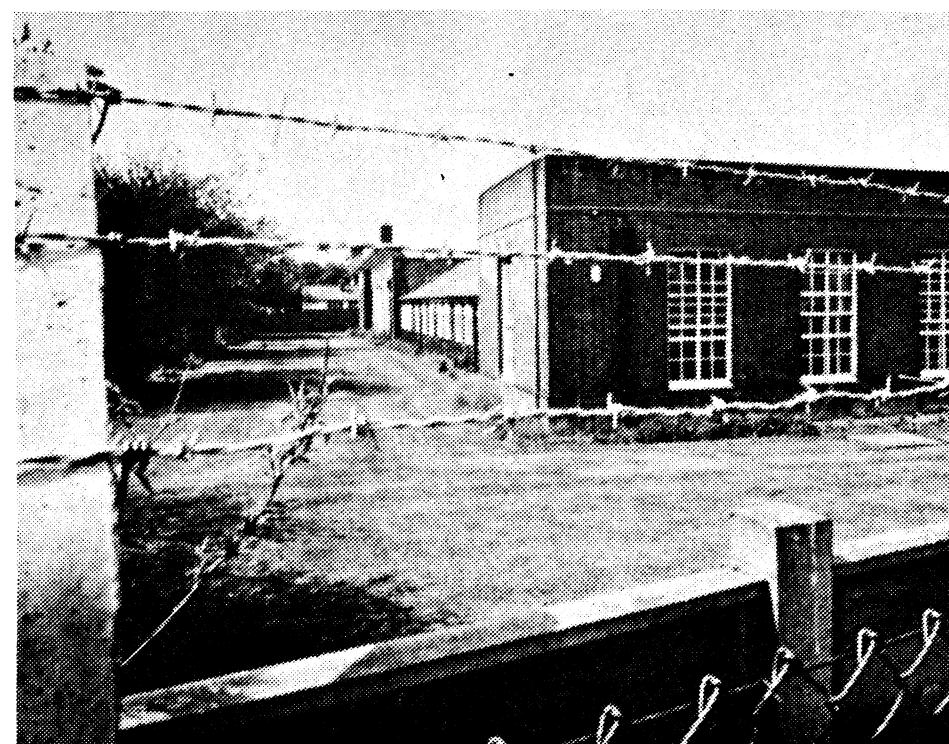
What does incarceration in a "control unit" do to a prisoner? The *Sunday Times* had no information on this. It could only report the impression gained by one person in a single visit with a prisoner who has evidently just begun the treatment:

"When Molly Newell went to visit her brother Michael in Wakefield Jail last Saturday afternoon, she had the shock of her life. He is normally a cheerful and well-built man. She found he had lost weight, was nervous, disoriented and very depressed. . . .

"Last weekend, for the first time, Mr Williams was in tears as she left.

"Mrs Newell was so shaken by the visit that on her return home to London friends sent telegrams on her behalf to the Home Secretary, the Wakefield prison governor and the Bishop of Wakefield warning them that her brother might commit suicide. Her solicitor, Ian Sheratte, is writing this weekend to the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, to inquire why Mr Williams's mental and physical condition, after four years inside, should deteriorate so suddenly."

Are there others like Michael Williams confined to these psychological torture cells? Are there some who have no relatives to discover their plight? Or who forgot to bring a pen? What will be found in these tiger cages when the socialist revolution tears down the walls of Britain's prisons?



British internment center for 'illegal' immigrants. Perhaps those being deported are the lucky ones.

out, they do not get another.

"Prisoners in the control units will not be compelled to work, the document says, but 'it will be made clear to them' that until a prisoner does work (that is, sew mail-bags on his own in the cell), he will not even begin to qualify for the second phase. That is, he starts ticking off his first 90 days only when he begins to work.

"If, at any time, during the first 90 days the prisoner misbehaves—stops working, breaks things in his cell, shouts at a prison officer on one of the few occasions he sees one—he reverts automatically and immediately to day one. This applies even if the misbehaviour is on day 89. Only after 90 days of continuous good behaviour is he allowed to move on to the second stage."

The second ninety days is called the

Times, "that allocation to a control unit carries with it no right of appeal. Nor is a prisoner seen by the boards of visitors who adjudicate on most serious internal prison offences, unless, of course, he actually commits a serious offence in the control unit.

"The responsibility for sending someone to a control unit, therefore, lies only with the prison staff and the Home Office, as does the decision to revert someone back to day one. So it is possible for a man to be kept in a control unit, in complete isolation in phase one, for an indefinite period and without access to any independent authority."

Visiting arrangements are supposed to be the same as for prisoners held in maximum security except that visits take place in a separate room. That's not the way it works out in practice. The *Sunday Times* cites the case of

Joint naval maneuvers provoke protest in Britain

Clash breaks out in Labour party over support to S.

By Tony Hodges

London

A major row has broken out in the ruling British Labour party following two decisions by Harold Wilson's government to give British backing to the racist South African regime.

On October 14, eleven British navy vessels sailed into Cape Town, South Africa, for a joint series of exercises with the South African navy. Two weeks later, on October 30, Britain joined the United States and France in casting a triple veto in the United Nations Security Council against a resolution calling for South Africa's expulsion from the UN.

These pro-South African moves, in flagrant violation of Labour party

Africa since January 1973. Already, students at Turfloop and Durban have held rallies, which were violently broken up by police, to demonstrate their support for Frelimo [Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front] and thousands of gold miners, many of them contract workers from Mozambique, have struck for higher wages.

Despite hypocritical criticisms of some of the more legally aberrant aspects of South Africa's apartheid restrictions, the British Labour government has remained firmly committed to defending British capitalism's holdings in the country. Its only action has been to apply—hesitatingly and inconsistently—a ban on arms sales to South Africa. Successive La-

faced in September when nine warships arrived in South African waters for joint naval manoeuvres with Pretoria's navy. This was the biggest demonstration of British sea power in the area for some years, and it sparked a protest from Frank Allaun, a Labour member of Parliament and a member of the party's National Executive Committee (NEC). Allaun called on the government to cancel the exercises. In a letter to the *London Times*, the leaders of nine trade unions—including Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, and Hugh Scanlon, general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers—called on the government to end all military collaboration with South

apartheid laws are contrary to the principles of the UN charter, that South Africa had repeatedly broken the UN sanctions against Rhodesia, and that South Africa had refused to uphold UN orders to withdraw from Namibia.

So the British navy's visit, as Michael Knipe put it in the October 22 *London Times*, "proved a timely counter in Cape Town to the indignities of the attacks on the Republic at the United Nations, and served, if only to a degree, to indicate that the Republic is not entirely friendless."

The South African government took maximum propaganda advantage of the joint exercises, Knipe reported, and to avoid embarrassment, it relaxed apartheid restrictions for Black British sailors. They were treated as "honorary whites."

The Labour government's next pro-South African move came October 30. Along with the United States and France, Britain vetoed the Security Council motion to expel South Africa. Once again the Labour leaders showed that they valued British capitalism's links with the apartheid regime over the interests of the Black masses of South Africa.

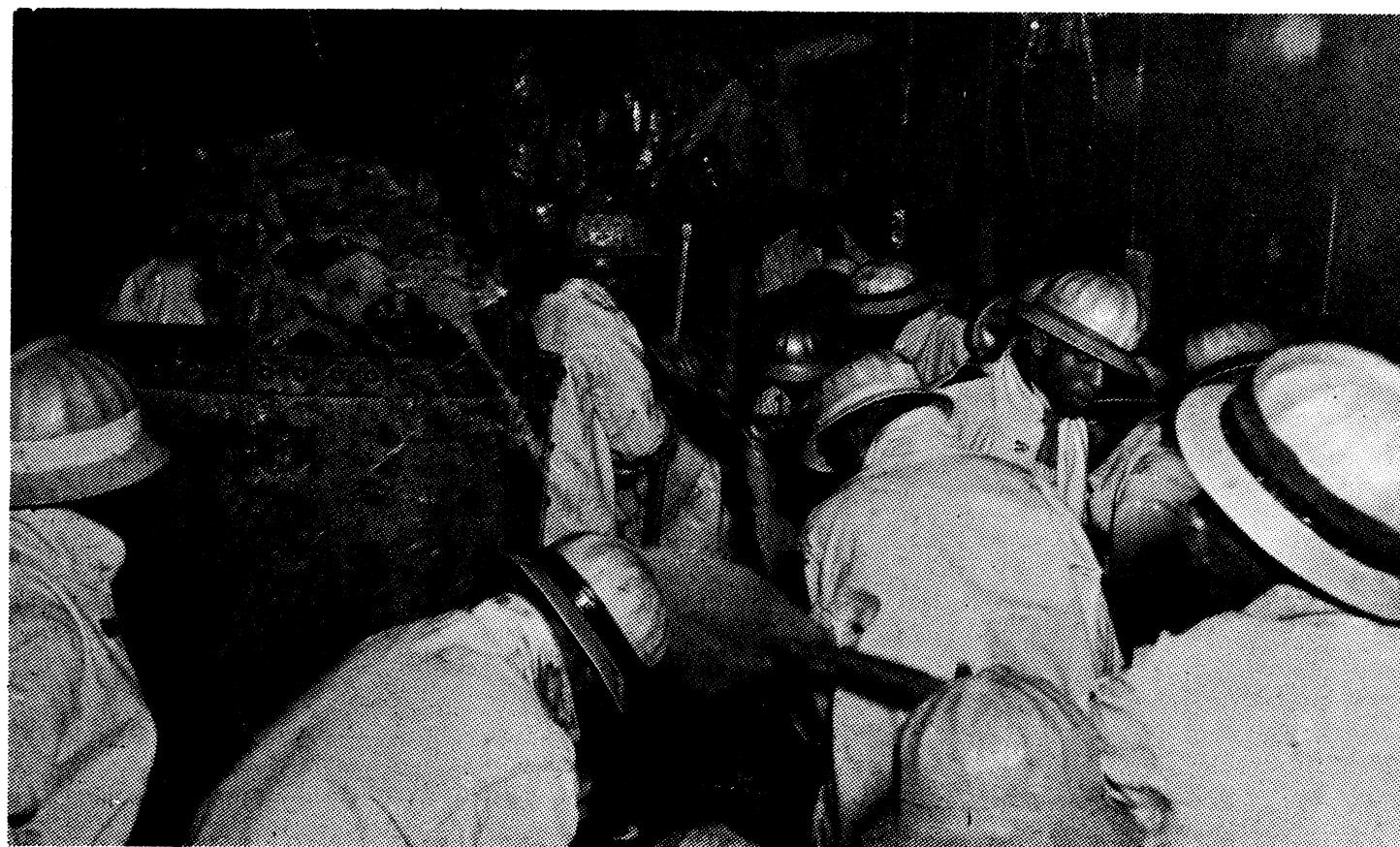
Many Labour members of Parliament, members of the party's NEC, and even some government ministers were taken aback by the cabinet's decision to give such open support for South Africa. What would be the reaction in Africa as a whole to these latest demonstrations of friendship between Britain and the Pretoria regime? And what would be the response from the Labour rank and file?

Foreign Secretary James Callaghan revealed these doubts and worries in a speech delivered October 25. "Clearly, if it is an important British security interest to maintain the [Simons-town] agreement," this proimperialist Labour statesman argued, "then we must do so."

"But," he cautioned, "we have also to consider the political embarrassment it causes us throughout the world." Callaghan said that the agreement should be allowed to "wither on the vine" if its military advantages were outweighed by the political damage.

Some Labour leaders were evidently worried that the government's blatant collaboration with the South African racists might spark an outcry in the workers movement like that unleashed last spring by Wilson's decision to supply the Chilean junta with frigates and submarines. At that time, union members banned work on Chilean war goods, and 10,000 marched through London in protest.

There has been a strong feeling in the British population about South Africa for many years, but no mass action has yet followed the government's decisions. The potential for a big response is there, however, and the many Labour MPs and leaders who have built their "left-wing" image as opponents of oppressive foreign regimes like South Africa know it. Their motive throughout the dispute has been to work to head off mass mobilisations and to warn Wilson that his policy entails too many risks. They have carefully avoided any calls to action, confining their criticisms to



South African coal miners. British capitalists own more than 50 percent of foreign investment in South Africa and are worried by growing Black militancy.

conference decisions, roused a storm of protest within the party and prompted Wilson to threaten to dismiss three government ministers for joining in the outcry.

British military and diplomatic collusion with South Africa is designed to protect British capitalism's huge economic interests in that area. In 1970, Sterling Area investments in South Africa totalled nearly 2,000 million pounds [one pound sterling equals about US\$2.30], and in 1971 more than 500 British companies had associates or subsidiaries there. Well over 50 percent of foreign investments in South Africa are British-owned.

With a much greater stake in South Africa than even Washington, British imperialism is also on the alert to the threatening advance of the African revolution following the victories of the liberation fighters in the Portuguese colonies.

The imperialists are particularly worried that the Black workers of South Africa will be inspired by the successes of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies to struggle for their own rights, thus reinforcing the strike wave which has swept South

bour governments have upheld the 1955 Simonstown Agreement with South Africa and held joint military exercises with the racist regime's armed forces.

The Simonstown Agreement gives British warships use of the Simonstown naval base, the only base between Gibraltar and Singapore which provides all the naval docking, repairing, and refueling facilities required by the British navy. James Margach, writing in the November 3 *London Sunday Times*, noted that supporters of the agreement "argue that it provides the West with a vital base from which to protect general sea traffic to Africa and tankers bringing Middle East oil to Europe around the Cape of Good Hope." The right-wing Labour leaders, who are totally committed to continuing British support for NATO, also put the strategic interests of the imperialists in southern Africa, the Indian Ocean, and the South Atlantic before the interests of the workers and peasants of southern Africa.

Opposition to the Labour government's South African policy first sur-

Africa.

At that time, the protests were muted. The *London Times* noted October 15 that this subdued tone "was thought to be due to the impending election, and a desire not to split the Government's ranks at such a time."

The October exercises were on a grander scale than the September ones—and they brought on a much bigger response.

The display of British-South African friendship could scarcely have come at a more opportune moment for the Pretoria regime. On September 30 the General Assembly of the United Nations had voted that South Africa's credentials were unacceptable in view of its repeated violation of the charter and principles of the UN.

Four days after the British flotilla's arrival in Cape Town, the UN Security Council opened a debate on South Africa's membership in the UN. On October 26, three African members of the council moved a formal resolution for South Africa's expulsion. The delegates of Mauretania, Cameroun, and Kenya supported the call on the grounds that South Africa's

Africa by Wilson

a purely verbal plane.

One of the biggest headaches for the Labour cabinet was that its decisions to hold joint naval manoeuvres and bail out South Africa in the UN Security Council were taken in complete disregard for the decisions made by the Labour party at its own conference in October 1973. This conference passed a resolution supporting the liberation struggle in southern Africa and favouring the end of British collaboration with the South African regime.

Labour's Programme 1973, which was passed by the conference, declared that "the next Labour Government will withdraw from all relationships resulting from the Simonstown 'Agreements' and all military exchanges, visits and technical arrangements will be terminated."

This was the context in which the Labour party NEC voted unanimously on October 30 to deplore the government's decision to sanction the naval visit. The NEC, which also called on the cabinet to "ensure that the Ministers concerned do not repeat this gross error," is the highest leadership body of the Labour party and is elected by the annual party conference. In voting against the government, the NEC members were upholding the party's conference decisions against their own party members in the cabinet who had arbitrarily decided to disregard the party's position on southern Africa.

Among those voting for the NEC resolution were one cabinet minister,

ference to halt all forms of military collaboration with South Africa. Now he was telling ministers who were members of the NEC, the extraparliamentary leadership of the party, that they would be dismissed if they voted against cabinet decisions in the future.

What are the wider implications of this row? First, it seems that Wilson has chosen deliberately to affirm at this early stage of his new government that the cabinet is not bound by the constitutionally voted decisions of the party conference, and that ministers will be expected to place their loyalty to those decisions in second place to their loyalty to the principle of cabinet "collective responsibility."

"The sharpness of Mr Wilson's rebuke and the strenuous retorts it has inspired," wrote the *London Times* editors on November 2, "suggest that there is more at stake than three ministers stepping out of line about a naval visit to South Africa. And indeed there is.

"We are witnessing preliminary moves, a sort of sizing-up dance round the ring, before battle commences on the issue of authority within the Labour movement. The battle-ground will be the renegotiation of the terms of entry into the European Economic Community, and then the referendum and after."

It is widely considered that the Wilson government, after negotiating a few token changes in Britain's relations with the Common Market, will recommend a "yes" vote in the referen-



British demonstrate against Common Market membership. Wilson is preparing to flout Labour party position on this issue as well.

Harold Wilson recommend a 'yes' vote in the coming referendum, regardless of screams of agony from the anti-Market majority at the Labour Party Conference and in the National Executive." In Beloff's view, "the prospective uproar over Europe is only part of the crisis of authority now coming to a head inside the Labour Party."

Beloff is probably right. Speaking in Parliament on October 30, Callaghan gave a rather good clue to the government's thinking. "There was," he stated, "a greater sense of realism in the Community. Britain's presence had given a nudge in that direction."

Wilson may also be attempting to tighten ministerial solidarity in preparation for unpopular economic decisions forced by the deepening crisis of British capitalism. Many observers believe that the Labour cabinet may be forced to introduce a wage freeze in violation of the party's pledges and programme, a turn-around that would unleash a heated clash between the unions and the government and within the party.

These attempts to subvert the rights of the party conference to set Labour policy must be met head on by members of the party. Wilson and company must be told forthright that the Labour government has no right to stage naval exercises with South Africa, recommend a "yes" vote in the Common Market referendum, or introduce statutory wage controls in violation of the party's conference decisions. The government ministers and members of Parliament must be accountable to the party and its democratically voted policy decisions. And ministers or MPs who consistently violate conference decisions should be recalled and removed.

Such a campaign for democratisation must also seek to remove all bans and proscriptions against organised political groupings which support the party, bans which in the past have been one of the key ways in which the Labour bureaucrats have denied the right of left-wing supporters of the party to freely air their views and resist the right-wing positions of the leadership.

A second lesson is that every effort must be made to build a mass movement to force the Labour government to honour the party's conference decisions and cut off all links with South Africa, whether military, economic, or political. As Ray Alexander put it in the October 31 issue of *Red Weekly*,

newspaper of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International:

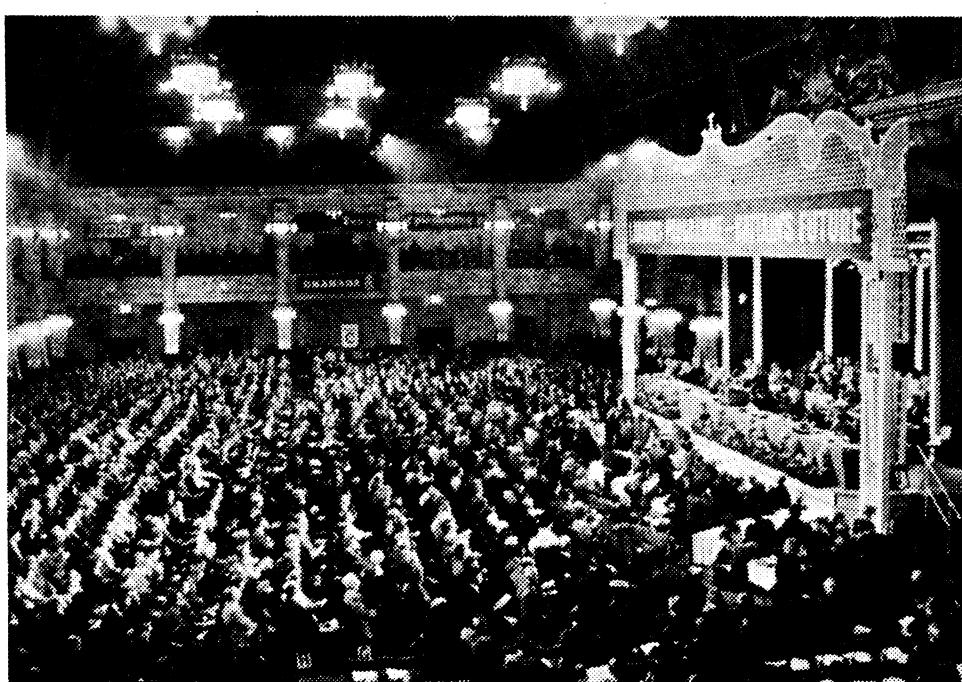
"The Labour movement must solidarise with their oppressed black brothers in South Africa, and warn Callaghan and his like in no uncertain terms that Labour's present policies are totally unacceptable. The Labour Government must be forced to:

"● End all diplomatic support for South Africa—in the UN and elsewhere.

"● End the Simonstown military agreement, and all forms of military aid to white South African racism in Africa.

"● End all British trade with, and investment in, the white racist regimes."

Callaghan has announced that the Simonstown Agreement is now under review. But there is nothing to review! It should be scrapped immediately, along with all other forms of British complicity with South African racism. Callaghan's announcement, made in Parliament on November 4, is designed to lull critics of the government's pro-South African policies while giving the Wilson administration more time to work out a less obtrusive deal for military collaboration with the South African government.



Labour party convention. Wilson has refused to carry out positions adopted by majority of party.

Tony Benn, the secretary of state for industry; and two ministers of non-cabinet rank—Judith Hart, the minister for overseas development; and Joan Lestor, parliamentary under-secretary at the Foreign Office. The next day Wilson sharply rebuked them for their votes against the cabinet's stance. Wilson threatened to dismiss them if they voted against government policy again.

Wilson's sharp rejoinder brought the issue of party democracy to the fore of the dispute. Wilson had not only violated the decision of the party con-

dum on continued British membership which has been promised by the Labour government. Such a recommendation appears bound to provoke uproar in the labour movement, where opposition to the probusiness European Economic Community has been powerful ever since Britain's application to join was handed in by the Tories.

Nora Beloff, political correspondent of the *Observer*, wrote November 3 that "if James Callaghan re-negotiates Britain's Common Market terms to his satisfaction, he will insist that

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Vladivostok summit no step to peace

Ford visit marked by protests in Japan, S. Korea

By Caroline Lund

When President Ford arrived in South Korea on the second stop of his recent Asian trip, he was hailed by an American general stationed there as the "Commander in Chief of the whole free world" — meaning the capitalist world.

Despite all the pomp and ceremony, this trip by the "Commander in Chief" was mainly colored by the growing number of crises plaguing the capitalist rulers throughout the world.

Ford's objective was to remind the world, and particularly the workers and peasants in Asia, that the United States remains solidly committed to upholding capitalist "law and order" in the Far East. Recent weeks have seen rising protests against U.S.-backed dictatorial regimes, from Seoul to Saigon, as well as growing discontent by the Japanese people over rampant inflation, unemployment, and dangers from U.S. nuclear weapons.

The second aspect of the trip was the Ford-Brezhnev summit meeting in Vladivostok, where Ford was bargaining for Kremlin cooperation in shoring up capitalism in Western Europe and imperialist interests in the Middle East.

For Ford's stay in Japan, the Japanese government mobilized a force of 160,000 policemen — the equivalent of ten infantry divisions — because it feared protest demonstrations.

Six thousand workers and students demonstrated November 12 in opposition to Ford's visit, according to a United Press International dispatch. On November 19 more than three million railway workers throughout Japan went on strike for twelve to sixteen hours for higher pay and against Ford's visit.

Ford was met by another demonstration November 22, the last day of his stay in Japan, in the city of Kyoto. *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield reported that "well-equipped" policemen knocked many of the students, estimated to number 10,000, to the ground by beating them across the knees with metal poles."

One of the issues generating protest against Ford was the recent revelation that the U.S. has been secretly bringing nuclear weapons into Japan. When the Governor of Tokyo, Ryokichi Minobe, approached President Ford asking for assurances that this be stopped, Ford refused to even discuss the subject.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger explained with incredible arrogance that Ford had an "understanding" for the "special sensitivities of the Japanese" on the nuclear issue — as if this were some kind of weird national quirk, rather than a totally rational horror among the masses of Japanese people for the terrible destruction from the atom bombs dropped by Washington in World War II. To this day, people are still dying in Japan from the effects of the U.S. bombs.

According to the joint communiqué released, one of the topics of discussion between Ford and Japanese Premier Tanaka was how to cooperate "to forestall an economic and financial crisis" in Japan.

Describing the deepening recession there, *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran wrote in a Novem-

ber 17 dispatch: "Newspapers report new layoffs each day. Business bankruptcies reached a new high in October. . . . Politically, Japan seems afflicted by the same malaise that is troubling many other advanced nations, a fundamental distrust of the people in their Government."

Less than a week after Ford's visit, Tanaka resigned as premier, citing "political chaos" in the country.

Needless to say, the Ford-Tanaka talks came up with no solutions to the social and economic problems facing Japan.

The November 18 *Washington Post* paraphrased Secretary of State Kissinger as saying that "the important thing" about Ford's visit to Japan

Park disbanded the country's National Assembly and instituted martial law two years ago. Referring to U.S. military aid to Park, opposition leader Kim Dae Jung told *New York Times* reporter Halloran, "When President Park proclaimed martial law and occupied the National Assembly, the press and the opposition headquarters, he was using your tanks, your machine guns, your rifles. Now the police prevent demonstrations by using your weapons."

South Korea has been shaken this fall by demonstrations almost every day of students, Christians, newspaper reporters, and others demanding democratic rights. Ford refused to meet with representatives of any

ty chief Leonid Brezhnev in Vladivostok would be a demand that the Soviets press their Syrian client to avoid an outbreak of fighting."

The Soviet Union is Syria's main supplier of arms, and — while Washington continues to pump mammoth amounts of weapons into Israel — they want the Kremlin to cut back its aid to Syria.

The *Christian Science Monitor* also noted that one test of the Washington-Moscow détente at Vladivostok would be "the willingness of the Russians to use their influence to moderate the now intractable public stand of the Palestinians."

In addition to seeking Kremlin cooperation in putting a damper on the struggle of the Arab peoples for liberation, Ford also wanted Brezhnev's assurance that Communist parties in Western Europe would not throw their support to the growing workers' struggles against the effects of growing inflation and unemployment.

A *New York Times* analysis of the Vladivostok summit by Hedrick Smith noted that "on the Western side, Secretary of State Kissinger and others have voiced concern that Moscow may be tempted to try to capitalize on the Western economic disarray to seize political advantages."

However, the article goes on, "from what Soviet sources say, one of Mr. Brezhnev's reasons for pressing for an early meeting with President Ford was to help ease burgeoning fears in the West about Moscow's intentions" in this regard.

Smith says that Western diplomats think "the leadership coalition led by Mr. Brezhnev still clearly attaches higher priority to accommodation with the West than the emergence of new Communist governments in Western Europe."

The message U.S. capital wants Brezhnev to understand was articulated with unusual bluntness by Senator Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) in a speech at a research institute in Moscow November 11.

According to the November 12 *New York Times*, Mondale "noted that détente was also jeopardized by political turmoil in some Western countries," apparently referring to the growing unrest of working people in Europe over inflation and other issues.

He held out the carrot of greater trade with the Soviet Union if "a reasonable code of economic cooperation and behavior" was agreed to by the Kremlin and its followers in the Communist parties of Europe.

The Asian trip by the "Commander in Chief" of the imperialist world brought no steps forward or hope for the working people of the world. It was designed to renew the alliance between U.S. and Japanese imperialism, to shore up the imperialist base in South Korea, and to gain new commitments from the Kremlin to exert its influence to dampen the class struggle in Asia as well as in the Mideast and Europe.

But the rising struggles in South Korea, Japan, the Arab East, and Western Europe indicate that no such diplomatic extravaganzas and secret détente deals are going to satisfy the rising demands by working people for solutions to the worldwide crises of the capitalist system.



Park's riot police drag off one of the women who sat in at U.S. Embassy demanding release of husbands and sons being held as political prisoners.

was "the continued stability in the Pacific that can result from good U.S. relations with Japan."

In recent years Washington has relied more and more on Tokyo for help in propping up reactionary capitalist regimes throughout Asia. For example, Tokyo shares with Washington the financial burden of sustaining the Park Chung Hee dictatorship in South Korea.

The standards of freedom in Washington's so-called free world were highlighted when Ford went from Japan to South Korea.

Hours before his arrival, South Korean riot police stormed the U.S. Embassy in Seoul to disperse a peaceful sit-in demonstration by twenty to twenty-five women. The protesters, who were wives and mothers of some of the 200 political prisoners held by the Park regime, held a placard saying, "President Ford, do you support this dictatorial system?"

Among them was the mother of Kim Chi Ha, the country's best-known poet, who is among those imprisoned for criticizing the Park regime.

of these groups and used his visit to give unqualified support to Park.

Emboldened by this support, the Park regime announced only days after Ford left that seven political prisoners would be executed. Relatives of the seven say they were tortured into admitting membership in an outlawed organization.

Ford's subsequent summit meeting with Soviet Communist Party chief Brezhnev in Vladivostok was hailed as producing a "breakthrough" for the long-stalled Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. This deal to limit the numbers of nuclear weapons for both sides will do nothing to lessen the very real danger of nuclear war. Both sides already have the nuclear potential to wipe out the earth's population many times over, and right now the Mideast is hurling toward a new war — a war that could escalate into a nuclear holocaust.

The Mideast was a major topic of the secret discussions at Vladivostok. According to the November 20 *Washington Post*, American officials "said that one of President Ford's proposals at his coming meeting with Soviet par-

Israel's growing international isolation

By DAVE FRANKEL

Israeli soldiers and police strove to put down a wave of militant demonstrations among the 700,000 Palestinians in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River last week. Meanwhile, the growing international isolation of the Zionist state was driven home by a series of United Nations votes.

On Nov. 22 the UN General Assembly voted 89 to 8, with 37 abstentions, in favor of a resolution that declared "the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted." In an important victory for the Palestinians, the resolution in favor of their right to self-determination did not negate this right by supporting the maintenance of the Israeli state.

On the same day the UN also passed a resolution granting the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) permanent observer status at the UN and the right to participate in international conferences under UN auspices. This resolution, passed by a vote of 95 to 17 with 19 abstentions, gave the PLO a position at the UN similar to that of Switzerland and North and South Korea.

These votes followed others at a Paris meeting of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in which Israel was denied UNESCO grants and excluded from its regional bodies. The UNESCO resolutions protested the alteration of the historical character of Jerusalem by the Israeli occupiers.

The Israeli response to these UN actions came on Nov. 24. The Israeli government announced plans for building a major new industrial center in the Arab West Bank area, and a series of smaller projects on the outskirts of Jerusalem that would carry forward the Israeli plan of turning Jerusalem into a Jewish city. This policy has been referred to by the *Jerusalem Post* as the construction of "fortress Jerusalem."

In the UN itself, Israeli delegate Josef Tekoah's denunciation of the General Assembly votes bordered on frenzy. He characterized the debate as a "Sodom and Gomorrah of ideals and values," and charged the UN with "submitting itself to violence and savagery."

The response of the American capitalist press was hardly less restrained. The *Washington Post* led the pack with a Nov. 16 editorial on Arafat's UN appearance. "The sight of Yasser Arafat brandishing 'a freedom fighter's gun' in his rhetoric, even while he apparently packed a real pistol on his hip, seems to have thrilled many of the Palestinian leader's listeners at the United Nations," sneered the *Post* editors.

They continued: "One does not wish to deprive Mr. Arafat's admirers of their psychic kicks. Their irresponsibility and myopia, however, are manifest."

As these moralists in Washington explained, "it is silly to contend that the United States should accept the responsibilities of resource interdependence [i.e., food aid] with other states, but the others need not accept the responsibilities of diplomatic interdependence with the United States [i.e., voting the way they are told]."

The *Wall Street Journal* also lamented on the injustices of the world. "Word is finally getting out," wrote the editors of this big-business daily Nov. 20, "that some nations, Israel and South Africa among them, can't get a fair trial at the United Nations."

Conveniently forgetting the massive counterrevolutionary slaughter carried out by U.S. troops in Korea under the aegis of the UN, the *Journal* editors write that "the UN has forsaken its early, noble ambitions to be an instrument of peace and has chosen instead to embrace the foulest means of political struggle."

They also advance a solution: "If the General Assembly is going to abandon peacekeeping and support terrorism there is no reason why it should do so on a U.S. allowance."



ARAFAT: His appearance at UN set off wave of angry denunciations in Israel and U.S., but was welcomed in rest of world.

As for the editors of the *New York Times*, they suggest that the best course is to simply disregard the UN majority will. "Fortunately for mankind," they write Nov. 23, "... General Assembly resolutions carry little weight in the real world any more."

These hypocrites have always hailed the UN vote of 1947 on the partition of Palestine as the legal basis for the creation of Israel. At that time most of the countries in the world were still under the colonial domination of the European imperialists, while the U.S. wielded a block vote of some 20 obedient Latin American clients. Now that the imperialists are having greater difficulty in using the UN for their own counterrevolutionary purpose they are singing a different tune.

The same applies with the arguments about how South Africa should remain in the UN despite its racist

oppression of four-fifths of its population. Washington talks about how the UN must be an all-inclusive world forum, but for 20 years it successfully campaigned to exclude the People's Republic of China from the UN, despite the fact that that government ruled one-quarter of the human race.

The culmination of the UN debate coincided with another severe political defeat for the Israeli colonial-settler state. Unable to put down the massive protests against their occupation of the West Bank with beatings, fines, and jail terms, the Israel authorities were forced to resort to additional means of repression.

In response to a general strike by merchants in Ramallah, the Israeli military issued an order Nov. 21 cutting trade between Ramallah and Jordan, where most of the town's produce is marketed. A similar order restricting the rights of residents of El Bireh to trade and travel freely was also issued.

The previous day, five Palestinians accused of having incited the recent demonstrations and of being members of "hostile organizations" were deported without warning to Lebanon. One of those expelled was Hanna Nasser, president of Bir Zeit College.

"There was no warning at all," Nasser's wife told *New York Times* reporter Terence Smith. "He left the house last night thinking that the meeting [with the military governor of Ramallah] had something to do with the college. This morning I heard on the radio that he had been expelled."

At Bir Zeit College 200 students demonstrated for Nasser's return. According to Smith they chanted, "We are for Yasir Arafat and we say it fearlessly."

Other demonstrations were reported in Jenin, Tulkarm, and Jericho. In Jerusalem on Nov. 22 Israeli troops broke up a demonstration by firing automatic weapons into the air. According to Smith this was the first of the West Bank actions that was publicized in advance by a mimeographed leaflet.

Mideast: 'new war...well-nigh inevitable'

The establishment of Israel as a foreign settler-colony, an imperialist outpost on Arab land, has already led to four wars in the past 26 years. And the deadly logic behind the Israeli garrison state is rapidly leading to a fifth war in the Middle East, despite growing indications that this conflict might well end by plunging the world into a nuclear inferno.

Writing of the confrontation provoked when Israel mobilized 75,000 troops Nov. 15, David Anable reported in the Nov. 22 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Although the 'alarming' tension of last weekend on that [Syrian] front seems to have simmered down somewhat, it is reliably understood that the war materiel rushed to front-line positions remains in place."



U.S. Marines train in Mojave Desert. Intervention in Mideast for oil 'is no longer dismissed in Washington as nightmarish fantasy.'

In the same issue of the *Monitor* Joseph Harsch calmly notes, "The Arabs have missiles with enough range to hit Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Israel is generally believed to have nuclear warheads ready for use in retaliation."

But the grimdest report appeared in an article by Peter Jenkins in the Nov. 23 issue of the *Manchester Guardian*. "A new war in the Middle East is being discussed in Washington as if well-nigh inevitable," writes Jenkins.

"Military involvement by the United States, carrying with it the risk of military confrontation with the Soviet Union, is no longer dismissed in Washington as nightmarish fantasy. . . ."

"Coming back here from a Britain obsessed with domestic difficulties it is a chilling experience to appreciate the degree to which the Middle East problem now dominates all calculations about American foreign policy. . . ."

"Whether on one, two or three fronts a renewed Arab-Israeli war would be of unprecedented destructiveness. Both the quantity and quality of arms on both sides are greater than at the time of the Yom Kippur war. . . ."

"The availability of surface-to-surface

offensive missiles on both sides itself involves a greater risk of escalating actions against civilian populations."

According to Jenkins, "The United States expects to have to reinforce Israel within days not weeks," as was the case during last year's war. And, "what really gives people the shudders in Washington is the prospect of the accompanying oil embargo."

In relation to the rise in oil prices during the past 13 months, Jenkins writes that the U.S. "regards what has happened in the world as a major threat to its prosperity and stability."

". . . A war accompanied by an oil embargo would reinforce the American tendency to perceive the quadrupling of oil prices as virtually tantamount to an act of economic aggression against the West."

In Jenkins's view the main danger of a wider war arises from the threat of U.S. intervention over oil. As for the Soviet reaction, "The underlying American judgment of the Soviet intentions appears to be that they would pay some price for the continuation of detente and the bread-and-butter bilateral dealings with the United States . . . but nobody knows for sure what price."

United actions needed

What strategy for Chile solidarity mov't?

By JOHN LLOYD

In a column entitled "Our task: support Chilean resistance," published in the Oct. 6 *Claridad*, organ of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), Andrés Torres offers a number of suggestions for the political orientation of the Chile solidarity movement.

Torres, who is a central committee member of the PSP, correctly observes that the recent disclosures exposing direct U.S. government involvement in the 1973 military coup in Chile add new impetus to the movement. The uncovering of these facts helps awaken more North Americans to the real role of the United States in Chile and other countries.

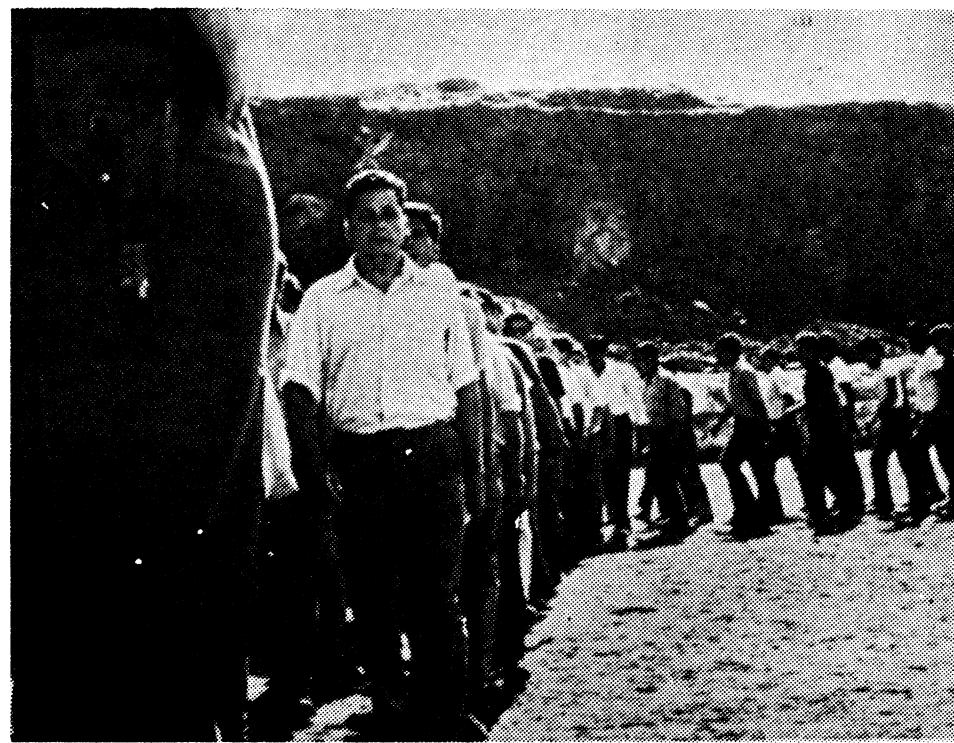
Torres believes that the specific demands raised in Chile defense actions so far "have correctly focused on legitimate and specific issues." These are: freedom for the political prisoners, the restoration of democratic rights, and an end to U.S. aid to the Pinochet regime.

But then he goes on to add that these demands "do not by themselves express a direct and specific form of solidarity with the *people's movement*, that is, the resistance." He argues that the Chile solidarity movement must "Openly support the Chilean resistance."

The problem is that after having emphatically asserted this, Torres still leaves us in the dark as to exactly what it is that he wants the movement to support. What does he mean by "resistance"? And what form should this support take? These are important questions, and many people who are involved in the Chile defense activities are thinking about them.

The experience of the past year has shown that different people who advocate use of the slogan "support the resistance" attribute very different meanings to it.

Does Torres mean, for example, as some do, that we should support the spontaneous forms of struggle by Chilean working people, peasants, and students? All socialists want to see an upturn in the class struggle in Chile. We welcome even the most rudimentary forms of protest and look forward to the renewal of the student movement, strikes, rallies, actions by the peasants and the people in the *poblaciones*.



Political prisoners in Chile. Slogan of 'Support Chile resistance' gets in way of organizing broad defense for victims of junta's repression.

But we have to start with the reality of today and explain truthfully where the workers movement stands. The fact is that since the serious blow a year ago, the level of struggle in Chile has qualitatively changed.

There simply are no mass struggles going on in Chile like those before the coup. The leaders of the workers movement are jailed, in exile, or driven deep underground. Opponents of the government, such as MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) leader Miguel Enríquez, are murdered whenever they are found.

Clearly the immediate needs of the masses are to win openings, to win freedom for the political prisoners, to stop the torture and killing, to isolate the military government internationally, and to hinder U.S. government aid to its puppets in Santiago.

Actions in other countries that help achieve these goals provide badly needed support and solidarity to the Chilean workers and their allies.

By "openly" supporting the "resistance" does Torres mean, as some do, that we should organize activities in

this country based on endorsement of the line of the formation called the "United Left," or as it is sometimes called, the "United Anti-Fascist Resistance"?

What is this formation and what is its political line? According to its own description, it is a political bloc composed of the elements that originally made up the Unidad Popular (UP—Popular Unity), which governed Chile before the coup.

This includes the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Radical Party, MAPU-OC (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria-Obrero y Campesino—Workers and Peasants Movement for United People's Action), and MAPU. Also involved in the United Left is the MIR and forces that have broken from the Christian Democratic Party called the Christian Left.

The United Left has its headquarters in Rome and is reported to be reflected in Chile in the form of the "Popular Resistance Committees." It puts forward a political program for Chile that aims to unite a "broad antifascist front" and overthrow the dictatorship.

This strategy is a reincarnation of

the same errors embodied in the UP. Like the UP, the United Left contends that it is possible and desirable for the working class to form an alliance with a nonexistent "progressive" wing of the Chilean national capitalist class, overthrow the dictatorship, and establish "democracy."

Sept. 11, 1973, was tragic proof that this class-collaborationist strategy was not the road to socialism in Chile but was the road to defeat. The architects of this strategy relied on the capitalist army to defend the gains that the workers had won through mass mobilizations. Consequently they were unable to extend these gains through the only way possible—that is a struggle to completely oust the capitalist class, as the Cubans did more than a decade ago, and establish socialism.

If Torres believes that giving support to the class-collaborationist United Left is synonymous with supporting the "people's movement," I would take strong issue. The program of the United Left deserves no support.

To organize actions in the U.S. based on political support to the United Left under the guise of "supporting the resistance" narrows the possibility of organizing the broadest support possible for the Chilean working class and its organizations.

Such actions exclude organizations like the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance who disagree with the United Left's popular-front strategy for the Chilean revolution.

However, the SWP and YSA are willing to unite with those organizations, such as the Communist Party, who do support the United Left, in actions organized to defend the victims of Chilean repression. Such united actions should not be restricted to defending Chileans from only one party or viewpoint but from all the working-class parties.

In many cities actions on Sept. 11 of this year were successful in drawing together coalitions that included a relatively broad spectrum of organizations and individuals. Many of these organizations disagreed on the road to revolution for Chile but were able to join together to protest the repression there. These actions should be the model for future activities.

Conference protests repression in Argentina

By ALAN HICKS

LOS ANGELES—A conference here Nov. 7-9 on "Argentina: Crisis, Repression, and the U.S." was highlighted by a protest rally against the growing wave of right-wing terror in that country. The rally of 200 demanded that the Argentine government end its present "state of siege."

The state of siege was declared by President Isabel Perón. Under such an edict public meetings are banned, anyone can be arrested without charge, and the rights to trial and habeas corpus are suspended.

With the worsening crisis in Argentina, organizers decided to change the final session of the conference into a protest rally and to invite the media. Sponsors of the conference included the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity (LAGLAS), the Committee to Free Los Tres, Latin American Studies and the Latin American



Militant/Henry Snipper
USLA national staff member Mirta Vidal speaking at Los Angeles protest rally.

Society at Cal. State L.A., and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The rally was held at La Plaza de la Raza, near the Cal. State L.A. campus. Speakers were Mirta Vidal, a national staff member of USLA; Margaret Towner, speaking for LAGLAS; Jaime Regalado, from the Committee to Free Los Tres; and Dave Brown, of the Los Angeles chapter of USLA.

Vidal urged people at the rally to sign a telegram to President Isabel Perón that demanded, "Lift the state of siege!" "End the right-wing murders and threats—prosecute the assassins!" and "Defend the democratic rights of trade-union and political activists!" More than 100 signed the USLA-sponsored telegram and contributed \$80 to pay the cost of sending it.

Nearly 400 people attended various sessions of the three-day conference, with 227 registering for the full conference. The gathering took place at

both Cal. State L.A. and La Plaza de la Raza.

The sessions focused on the current social, political, and economic crisis in Argentina. Topics covered included the labor movement, Peronism, economic stagnation, U.S. influence, the women's movement, and the radical clergy and intelligentsia in Argentina.

One of the major sessions was on "Political Movements and Strategies for Social Change." Speakers included Juan Corradi, professor of political science at New York University; Mark Falcoff, professor of history at the University of Oregon; and Peter Camejo, from the Socialist Workers Party. Opening and closing the conference were concerts of social protest music from Argentina and elsewhere in Latin America by Argentine musician Suni Paz, who is well known in this country for her support to the Chicano and Puerto Rican liberation movements.

Bernadette Devlin discusses Irish prison revolts, anti-internment fight

Some 1,000 persons jammed an auditorium at the University of Minnesota Nov. 9 to hear Bernadette Devlin, the Irish revolutionary, speak on the struggle in Northern Ireland. Devlin, winding up a national speaking tour, is an ex-member of the British Parliament.

Her talk was sponsored by Minnesota Irish Northern Aid, the Militant Forum, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the West Bank Union and the Union Program Council. The meeting was chaired by Betsy Farley of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Before her speech, Devlin conducted interviews with several members of the local news media and held a news conference attended by all four Twin Cities television stations. She also appeared at a cocktail party hosted by Minnesota Irish Northern Aid and was warmly thanked by its president, Charles McCafferty, for coming to the Twin Cities to speak on the struggle in Northern Ireland.

The following interview with Devlin was obtained for *The Militant* by Lee Gearhart on Nov. 8.

The Militant: What's the extent of British repression? How many people have been interned?

Devlin: In terms of internment, the actual figure at the moment is roughly 1,500, about 1,100 of whom are Republican internees, the remaining being loyalists (Protestant right-wingers).

But the repression goes much further than that. For example, we no longer have trial by jury. The government argument was that the juries acquitted too many people. So they abolished the juries.

And we no longer have the so-called basis of British justice—that a man is innocent until he's proven guilty. We now work on the basis that he's guilty from the time he's arrested. And we do not have an automatic right to cross-examination of witnesses or even a knowledge of the source of accusations being made.

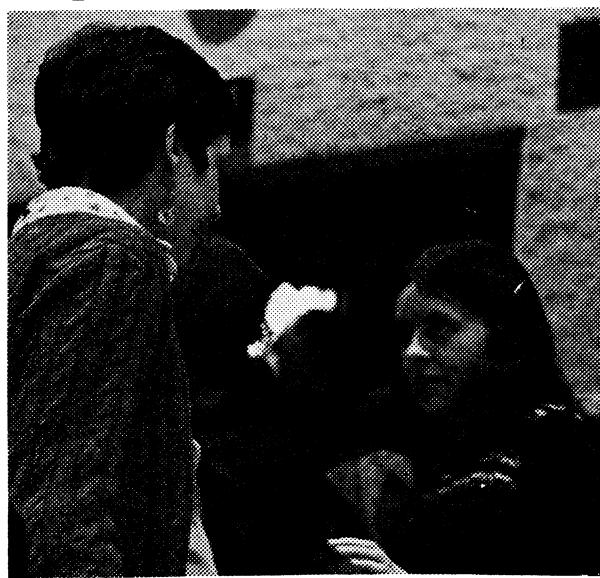
Everybody in Northern Ireland knows personally somebody who has been imprisoned or interned. The internment turnover, what is more, means that the actual number of people who have at some time, for a period of at least 72 hours, been detained for questioning without knowing the cause, probably runs into 7,000 or 8,000 people.

On a day-to-day basis, the army searches, the roadblocks, the sealing off of town and shopping centers, the harassment to traffic, pedestrians, children going to and from school, people going to and from their work, means that repression, actually in physical terms, touches every citizen.

Prison rebellions

The Militant: What do you think about the prison rebellions in Northern Ireland?

Devlin: Before I left for America, the prisoners in Long Kesh burned down the entire camp, and



Militant/Lee Gearhart

Bernadette Devlin (right) after speaking to meeting of 1,000 in Minneapolis.

it was that prison revolt that led to the other revolts.

Britain argued quite successfully through the mass media that it was all an IRA (Irish Republican Army) plot to effect a massive prison escape which went wrong. And that was not true.

Both Amnesty International and the International Red Cross, about three months before the prison revolts, warned the British government that if there was not a dramatic improvement in the conditions under which prisoners were held, there would be, of necessity, revolts in the prisons. And Britain's answer when the revolts came was, in fact, to accuse the International Red Cross of incitement for making the statement.

Prison conditions were so intolerable that the prisoners were left with no option but to take that drastic action—which they've been threatening for about six months. You have to, in human terms, imagine at what level of desperation men are, that they will sit in huts where they are enclosed, knowing that all the doors are locked and that there is no escape, and actually, in cold, calculated reason, set fire to the place and depend on the good will of the prison wardens, which they know doesn't exist, to open the doors so that they won't burn themselves to death.

What made the situation worse was that the British army were then called in after the men were evacuated from the huts. There was no prison riot, but the British army were called in to stop a riot that didn't exist. The army took over the prison camp and attacked the prisoners, who were all out in the open.

The reason that the fire actually burnt the prison down was the army's fault. They deliberately refused to let the fire brigade into the prison. And moreover, they made sure that all the personal property of the prisoners which they had salvaged from the fire was thrown into the burning buildings.

No medical treatment

When I left for America there had been approximately six deaths (of prisoners) out in the rain, with no change of clothing, no food except bread and milk because the kitchen had been burnt, and no medical treatment. The British army first stated that nine people had been injured. And then when the Red Cross visited the camp and various religious chaplains were allowed in, it was discovered that the injured in the prison who were receiving no medical treatment at all numbered several hundred. And they included people with broken limbs, people with open wounds which the prison wardens admitted publicly that they had stitched with sewing needles and thread.

And as was perfectly natural, the revolt spread to all the other prisons.

The Militant: Do you think that the demonstrations that were touched off in the Catholic ghettos represent a real turn in the situation?

Devlin: Well, I think that what it represented was it gave the lie to the British government propaganda that the prisoners no longer had any support. What the prison revolt and the immediate uprising of the people outside showed was that

internment is not a dead issue and it is still a running sore in the community. And the people are not prepared to tolerate it.

People went on strike. They hijacked buses, they burned cars in the street, they demonstrated. As was typical, there was more British outrage over the 30-odd cars that were burned in the street than there was about the fact that 1,500 men were being kept like animals.

The Militant: What are the chances, at this point, for a united movement of the Catholic people?

Devlin: I think the immediate issues of the ending of internment, the ending of British army harassment, and the demand for the withdrawal of the troops provide the greatest platform for a united opposition.

The Militant: What is the mood? Are people ready to fight?

Devlin: The mood is very difficult to determine. People do not like violence. I think everybody admits that. Nobody likes the violence. And people are frightened about the escalation of violence, but more than they hate the violence, they hate the oppression.

Platform in Parliament

Militant: How do you view your two sessions in Parliament?

Devlin: I think they served a useful function inasmuch as they created a platform for exposing British rule in Ireland, exposing the farce of parliamentary democracy, and clarifying the issues both in Britain and internationally.

I think the circumstances which brought me to Parliament at 21 as a woman gave me a springboard from which to speak. And the more I spoke, the more the international press heard what I was saying, the less they liked it, and the less that they printed.

But when the initial euphoria of a female, radical 21-year-old was still rife, I got a lot of work done, and it was useful.

On the other hand, I did not effect any change in attitudes in Parliament. I did not effect any legislative change. And in that sense you could say it served no function. But I never went into Parliament thinking that I was, by force of moral argument, going to change the attitude of the British parliamentarians. So I think I used it to its limits.

British plan new crackdown

Using the Nov. 21 bombing of two pubs in downtown Birmingham as a pretext, the British government has announced that it will introduce legislation into parliament giving "emergency powers" to the police and immigration authorities.

The proposed powers, which have the backing of the Conservative Party as well as of Harold Wilson's Labour Party, will:

- Extend the 48-hour period that an arrested person can be held by the police before being charged or taken to court.

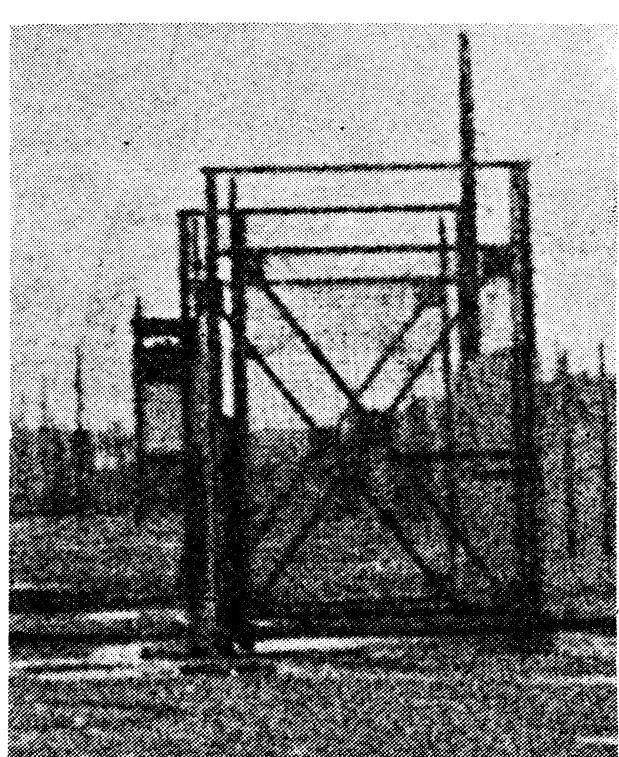
- Give new powers to immigration and port authorities to turn back "undesirable" persons coming from the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland.

- Extend the law on the deportation of convicted criminals.

Also being discussed, according to a report in the Nov. 23 *New York Times*, is whether to introduce identity cards, as was done during World War II. . . .

The Government will also decide over the weekend whether to declare the Irish Republican Army an illegal organization, as it already is in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic.

Although ostensibly aimed at terrorism, these new powers will be used in repressing all supporters of the Irish struggle in Britain, and especially in intimidating the one million Irish-born people in Britain from expressing their support for the fighters in Northern Ireland.



Internment camp in Belfast. Revolt of prisoners against intolerable conditions at Long Kesh spread to prisons throughout Northern Ireland.

Texas witch-hunt against 'illegal' children

By TOM FISKE

HOUSTON—The Houston Independent School District (HISD) is on a campaign to track down Mexican-born schoolchildren who are in the United States "illegally." Those children who are found to be noncitizens or to lack residency papers are being forced to pay \$66 a month to remain in school. This has resulted in some families withdrawing their children from school. In at least one instance a family has been forced to return to Mexico.

The efforts of the school district to track down "illegal" children comes at the time of an escalated national attack against so-called "illegal aliens"—foreign-born working people who are in the United States without naturalization or residency papers.

This past year the federal Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has deported more than 500,000 un-

documented workers. Attorney General William Saxbe, in an Oct. 30 speech in Brownsville, Tex., called for a million new deportations next year.

In many Houston public schools students who are foreign-born cannot even register for classes until they have shown their citizenship papers, passport, or residency card. If the student's papers are not in order the child is refused admission to school or is asked to pay \$66 a month in tuition.

Many of the families cannot afford to pay tuition and are forced to withdraw their children from school. In other instances, the families who report to the INS, if they are themselves without papers, may be deported.

Families of children already in school and "suspected" of being "illegals" are being visited by school officials. In some cases these officials can't speak Spanish. Families have

been confronted with the repeated demand, "Passport! Passport!" Naturally, some of the parents have been confused and frightened. In four predominantly Chicano elementary schools here—Franklin, Looscan, De Zavala, and South Main—foreign-born students were given a note to take home that ordered the parents to give the children proof of their "legal" residence to bring to school. In one school the note said that if proof was not given, the children would have to return to Mexico. Of course, the effect was to terrorize the families of the children.

This blatant harassment of foreign-born students has brought protests from leaders of the Chicano community here. At a meeting of the school board trustee David López condemned the harassment of foreign-born students. A motion presented by López to get assurance that this would not happen again was passed. The school board also promised that in the future investigating officials of the HISD would be bilingual.

Another protest at the school board meeting was made by María Jiménez, who was the Raza Unida Party candidate for state representative in the 87th District. She called the HISD's racist campaign a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, which guarantees equal protection under the law.

A public statement issued Oct. 28 by the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations charged that the HISD is doing the work of the immigration department. Kris Vásquez, who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 18th C.D., condemned the HISD actions saying, "All children have the right to a free public education in this country—'illegal' children as well as 'legal' ones. The denial of this right to some children strikes at the rights

of all children and all families in our community."

Two suits have been filed on behalf of schoolchildren to end the HISD attacks. One suit, filed Oct. 29, seeks a federal court order preventing the school district from requiring that the students provide evidence of a "lawful" immigration status. The suit charges that one school, De Zavala, harasses parents of schoolchildren in demanding proof of "legality."

The suit also points out that the HISD does not have the authority to determine who is a citizen and who isn't. This suit was filed by Juan Jiménez Maldonado, a permanent resident of this country, on behalf of his two children, who as yet have no papers.

A second suit has been filed on behalf of three "illegal" children in state court asking for a court order requiring the HISD to put them back into school without paying tuition. The children are nine-year-old José Luis Ledezma and his two sisters, Magali, seven, and Alicia, 10. The three Ledezma children have been out of school since September while their naturalization papers are pending. Their father is a permanent resident and their mother is a naturalized citizen. The suit says that there is no state law that prohibits "illegal" children from having access to free public education.

At present the HISD crackdown on foreign-born children continues. The number of attacks against the rights of undocumented workers in Texas promises to increase as they are made scapegoats for the deepening economic crisis. The attacks on the schoolchildren point to the increasing importance of the "illegal alien" issue to the Chicano movement and to the need for redoubled opposition to these attacks on families without documents.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Among the children victimized by racist Houston school authorities are (left to right) Jose Luis, Magali, and Alicia Ledezma.

Denounce racist deportation threats

Chicanos demand resignation of Saxbe

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A conference of Mexican-American groups gathered in Sacramento, Calif., demanded the resignation of U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe.

The Mexican-American Issues Conference meeting Nov. 15-17 denounced Saxbe's recent threat to deport one million undocumented workers from the United States.

In a racist smear attack against "illegal aliens" Oct. 30, Saxbe urged mass deportations as the solution for everything from unemployment to high taxes and crime. The attorney general's speech has brought angry responses from Chicano groups throughout the country.

A conference resolution pointed out that while President Ford publicly reprimanded General George Brown, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, last week for anti-Semitic remarks he made, he remained silent in regard to Saxbe's racist speech.

The Issues Conference is an annual event sponsored by the Mexican-American Political Association; GI Forum; League of Latin American Citizens; and the Comisión Femenil. They generally represent the more conservative elements in the Chicano movement.

President Ford sent the highest-ranking Mexican-American official in his

administration, Fernando de Baca, to address the gathering. De Baca, who is the special assistant to the president on Hispanic affairs, criticized Saxbe for what he termed an "unfortunate" statement, which, he asserted, does "not reflect the position of the president."

The president, however, has in no way indicated he intends to scotch Saxbe's plans for mass deportations or to halt his race-baiting attacks.

The conference marked the first time in years that some of the sponsoring organizations had taken a public stand on immigration questions. Other resolutions called for legislation to give legal immigrants the right to vote and to make it easier for those without papers who have been here for more than two years to become "legal."

Also criticizing Saxbe was the Los Angeles Spanish-language daily *La Opinion*. A Nov. 21 editorial said that the mass deportations "signify a danger of harassment in the cities for all the Spanish-speaking, since the color of their skin alone is enough to make them suspect."

The editorial points out that Saxbe has not provided any evidence to show that undocumented workers are responsible for high crime rates. And the attorney general also did not talk of the "benefits that these workers have

brought to the economy by working in the fields, taking jobs that natives disdain, paying all kinds of taxes and all this under conditions of exploitation by *enganchadores* (labor contractors) and bosses, who almost always pay them less than minimum wages. . . .

"What we oppose is the exaggerations of Saxbe, the inhuman exploitation of those who come to this country in search of a living, driven by adverse conditions in their own countries, and the frequent abuses of the immigration authorities. . . ."

The editors call for giving permanent residency to those who have been here for long periods.

SAN DIEGO—A demonstration greeted Attorney General William Saxbe when he appeared here Nov. 15 to dedicate a new prison. The picket signs and chants of the 100 demonstrators focused on Saxbe's campaign to deport one million undocumented workers as a means to "end unemployment."

The government surprisingly held its dedication outdoors on a public street, so the demonstration was directly adjacent to the ceremony, and spirited chanting could be heard throughout the dedication. The demonstration was covered widely by the news media.

Groups participating in the demonstration were the Indochina Peace Campaign, the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Progressive Labor Party.



SAXBE: Urges mass deportations as way to solve country's problems.

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Many people were surprised when the proposal to make East Los Angeles a city was defeated at the polls Nov. 5 by a vote of 7,197 to 5,256.

There exists strong sentiment among Chicanos against East Los Angeles's present status. East Los Angeles is an unincorporated urban island in Los Angeles County with a 90 percent Chicano population. It is ruled by the county government, in which Chicanos have zero representation.

The incorporation proposition had

resented an opportunity for them to take control of East Los Angeles and begin to deal with racial oppression. On this basis massive numbers of people could have been registered and brought out to vote Nov. 5, which was also necessary. The Democrats failed to do either of these things.

Instead they concentrated on making incorporation appear "harmless" to those who opposed it.

The opponents of incorporation based their campaign on two elements—racism and the specter of higher taxes.

They openly declared, "We don't want to be part of a Chicano city, a

politicians promise, the faster the taxes go up. It is not surprising that the incorporation proposal sounded to some like just another capitalist boondoggle.

There is strong sentiment in the community against the brutally racist county sheriff's department. This could have been mobilized behind the incorporation drive by a pledge to rid East L. A. of this occupation force. Instead, in order to appear "responsible" and allay the fears of the racist opposition to incorporation, the Democrats promised to retain the county sheriff's department if the new city came into being.

fight for their rights, the RUP limited itself to assuring voters that its candidates were better qualified as individuals to take advantage of the existing meager funding to improve the community.

La Raza Unida Party did not forthrightly address itself to some of the most important problems facing the community. It did not come out squarely for the removal of the hated sheriff's department. Instead, it advocated maintaining it for a period of time after incorporation. It did not speak to the issue of the deportation drive against undocumented workers.

Hopefully the RUP will evaluate its campaign in the light of the election results and learn from these shortcomings.

SWP campaign

In contrast, the Socialist Workers Party candidates, Manuel "Tank" Barrera and Mariana Hernández, addressed themselves to the real issues in the election.

They advocated the immediate removal of the sheriff's department from East L. A. and its replacement with a security force drawn from and controlled by the community.

They advocated that the new city refuse to cooperate with the Immigration Service in its deportation drives, and that it organize to fight against deportations.

They proposed that the federal government dismantle its war budget and release funds for a crash program to upgrade East L. A.

Some 8,500 copies of the socialist platform were distributed. The candidates appeared on radio and television, at street rallies, and at campus and community meetings, explaining the socialist alternative and popularizing the idea of an independent Chicano political party.

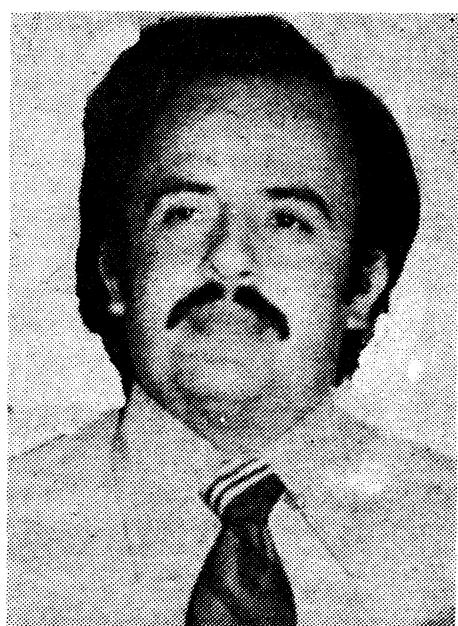
The two socialist candidates urged a vote for the RUP candidates, as an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, for the remaining seats for city council.

Manuel "Tank" Barrera received 415 votes and Mariana Hernández received 325 votes.

What next for East L. A.?

The question now arises, what will become of East Los Angeles? According to state law, another incorporation referendum cannot be placed on the ballot for two years. But a "sphere of influence" law passed by the California legislature mandates that all unincorporated urban islands must either incorporate or be annexed to existing cities as soon as possible. There is now a danger that the cities surrounding East L. A. will try to carve it up.

All those in the community who favor incorporation must be alert to this danger and prepare now to put up a fight with a view toward a serious and effective campaign to win incorporation of East L. A. over the next two years.



Raul Ruiz, La Raza Unida Party candidate for East L. A. city council, got top vote.

Why East Los Angeles incorporation drive failed



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Contingent in Sept. 16, 1974, Mexican Independence Day parade, in East Los Angeles. Banner protests U.S. Immigration Service (la migra) deportations of undocumented workers.

the support of virtually all Chicano-community, student, and movement organizations, including the United Farm Workers and La Raza Unida Party (RUP). It was endorsed by the county AFL-CIO and numerous individual unions. Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), and nearly every liberal politician in the area formally favored it.

How did it fail?

Incorporation was opposed by a relatively small but well-organized group of people, representing the most conservative sectors of the community. This includes Mexican-American and Anglo small businessmen and homeowners, and elderly retired Anglos. Very few of the poor and working-class Chicanos who are the majority in East Los Angeles turned out to vote. Fewer than a quarter of those eligible cast ballots.

The responsibility for the failure of the incorporation effort falls primarily on the Mexican-American Democrats, who initiated the referendum on incorporation.

These Democrats favored incorporation because they wanted to establish a political base for themselves. Had they won control of the East L. A. city council, they could then claim to speak for Chicanos and bargain for prominent positions inside the Democratic Party.

But in order to win the vote for incorporation, it was necessary to convince Chicanos that incorporation rep-

resents a welfare recipients and 'illegals'—a city where crime runs rampant."

Furthermore, they argued, since East L. A. would be a city of poor people, the new city administration would have no choice but to raise taxes on homeowners to offset the cost of running the city.

The Democrats responded to these charges by trying to run away from the issues. Their answer to the race-baiting was to assert that "this is not a Chicano issue." They assured the racists that they would not resort to "emotionalism" or "Chicano pride" to win incorporation.

Where to get the money?

In regard to taxes it was necessary to say, "Yes, it's true that East L. A. is a city of poor people, and the existing taxes are not sufficient to deal with the problems. What we propose is to tax the rich businesses that profit from Chicanos, eliminate taxes on the working people, and fight for massive federal funding that could begin to build the kind of schools, hospitals, and day-care centers the barrio needs."

But the Democrats were incapable of taking that approach. Instead, they proposed a starvation budget for the city. Then they promised over and over again that they would not raise taxes. Of course, every Democratic and Republican politician promises not to raise taxes. And it must seem to most voters that the harder the

A significant aspect of the election results was the high vote for the city council slate of La Raza Unida Party. Those who voted for incorporation simultaneously voted to fill five city council posts. Competing with two Democratic Party slates, RUP candidate Raúl Ruiz topped the entire field with 2,440 votes.

This was largely a conscious vote for La Raza Unida Party. The election was formally "nonpartisan" and there were no party designations on the ballot. But Ruiz, as a result of his previous campaigns for state assembly, has become the best-known spokesperson for La Raza Unida Party in California.

Unfortunately, however, La Raza Unida Party did not have an effective program to win incorporation. The RUP platform, as presented in a four-page tabloid for mass distribution, was virtually indistinguishable from that of the Democrats.

The East L. A. election was an excellent opportunity to win support for the idea of a Chicano party independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. Unfortunately, the RUP did not rise to this task.

The RUP platform did not mention the pernicious role of the Democratic and Republican parties in maintaining the oppression of Chicanos, nor did it explain the need for an independent party.

Instead of projecting itself as a party that is out to organize Chicanos to

HOFFA & THE TEAMSTERS

ABC News Close-Up: Hoffa. An ABC-TV news documentary. Produced by Stephen Fleischman. Directed by Stephen Fleischman. Broadcast on Sat., Nov. 30.

By ANDY ROSE

Today, when world capitalism is entering a deep economic crisis and major working-class battles are shaping up, there is growing interest in the militant history and traditions of the labor movement.

One welcome sign of this is the decision by the producers of the ABC-TV documentary "Hoffa" to devote a portion of the program to the strike battles of the 1930s and to interview one of the men who led those battles, Farrell Dobbs.

"In 1934," Jimmy Hoffa recalls in an interview in the program, "they had nothing to lose except the fact they

Television

may lose their life, and that wasn't worth much at that time because they couldn't do much with their life. And when you listen to a man like Vince Dunne or Ray Dunne talk or Farrell Dobbs talk. . . ."

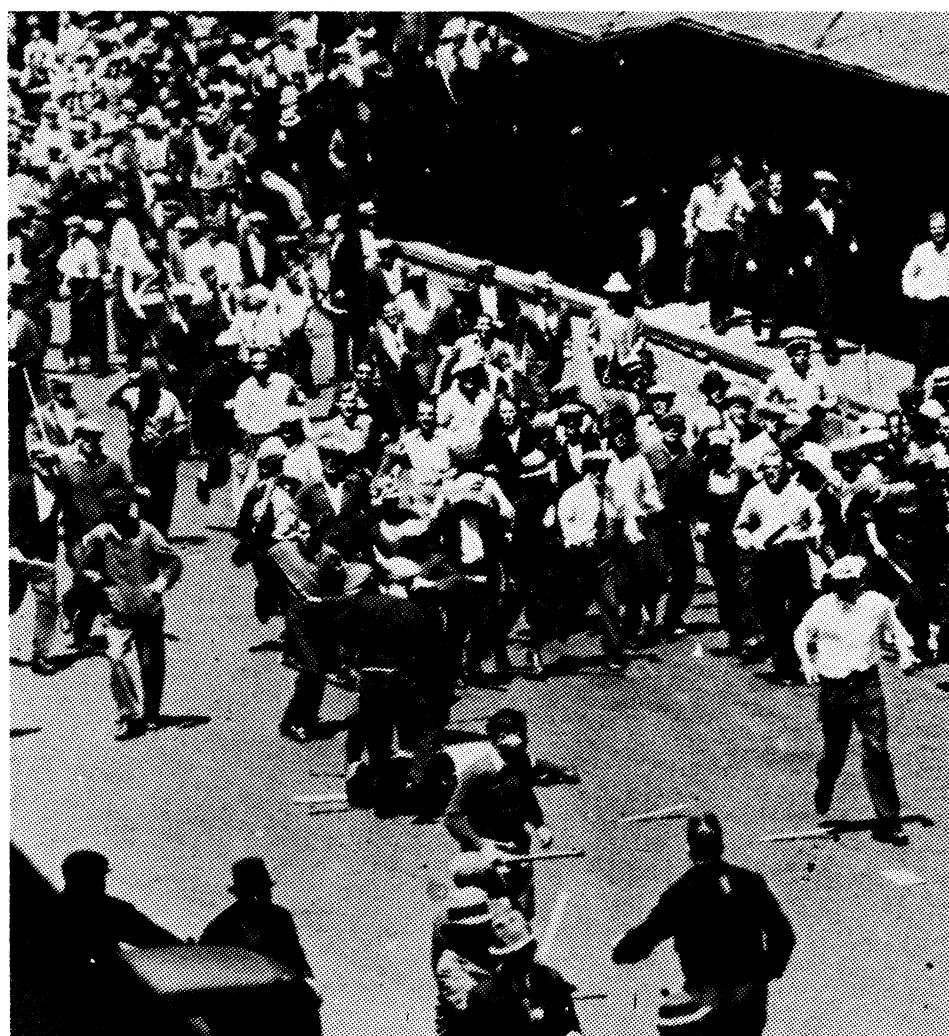
1934 strikes

Dobbs and the Dunne brothers (Ray, Miles, and Grant) emerged as leaders of Minneapolis General Drivers Local 574 during a series of hard-fought strikes in 1934 that captured the attention of workers throughout the country and helped inspire the rise of the CIO. Newsreel footage from the Minneapolis strikes is a highlight of "Hoffa."

On the initiative of the Dunne brothers, Carl Skoglund, and other revolutionary militants, Local 574 carried out a successful organizing drive that brought several thousand workers into its ranks.

It won its fight for union recognition in spite of violent strikebreaking attacks, red-baiting, and duplicity by government mediators and the supposedly pro-labor governor of Minnesota.

The 1934 strikes were a turning point in Teamster history. They were the first successful strikes in years in



Minneapolis strikers battle cops in 1934

Minneapolis and paved the way for a campaign, spearheaded by Local 574, to make Minneapolis a union town.

They also marked the beginning of Teamster organizing along broad industrial lines, taking in workers from all sectors of the trucking industry, including helpers and inside workers, rather than along narrow craft divisions. This was a deliberate break from the conservative policies of Dan Tobin, then president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), who said he didn't want such "rubbish" in his union.

Role of party

Local 574's success was no accident. It was the result of class-struggle methods of union organizing carried out by a militant rank and file with a seasoned revolutionary leadership. Dobbs, Skoglund, and the Dunnes were revolutionary socialists, members of the Communist League of America (forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party).

This fact is omitted from "Hoffa," as is any mention of the fact that Dobbs went on to become a central leader of the SWP, serving for many years as its national secretary.

Dobbs, on the other hand, has often stressed the crucial role of the party, which had assimilated the lessons of Marxism and the past experience of the workers movement, and could apply these to develop policies to move the union forward.

The documentary does its viewers a disservice by failing to mention that Dobbs has written two books, *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power*, that vividly recount the history of those early struggles and draw lessons that are invaluable for union militants today.

This production may, however, convey to Teamster members that at one

time the union had leaders of a totally different character from the corrupt gang that rules it today. It may prompt some to look more deeply into the union's history, and that alone is a valuable function.

No sooner was the union power consolidated in Minneapolis than Local 574 began mapping a campaign to organize Teamsters on a broader scale.

Hoffa recalls, "Farrell kept preaching the fact that nobody could, in the future, nobody would be able to win in their own town or their own state, but had to have expanded coverage for the entire transportation, warehousing, and food industry."

As secretary of the North Central Area Committee, formed in 1938, Dobbs was the key strategist of an 11-state organizing campaign of over-the-road drivers.

First area contract

It took a tough six-month strike to bring stubborn trucking bosses in Omaha, Nebr., into line, but the Midwest Teamsters successfully established the first area-wide contract, involving more than 1,700 companies and 175 Teamster locals.

After this pioneering victory, Dobbs joined the staff of general organizers of the IBT, a post he left in 1940 to become national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

In 1941 a full-scale battle was launched by IBT President Tobin against the militant wing of the Teamsters union, centered on Minneapolis Local 544 (the continuation of Local 574).

The documentary correctly points to the impending entry of the United States into World War II as the underlying reason for this fight. Tobin supported the imperialist war drive; the Local 544 leaders opposed it.

Hoffa was among those sent into Minneapolis with Tobin's goon squads to try to take over Local 544. This was a difficult undertaking because the revolutionary leadership had the firm support of the union rank and file. That historic fight will be covered in the forthcoming third volume of Dobbs's history of the Teamsters.

Here, by an omission that cannot have been accidental, the producers of "Hoffa" commit a serious misrepresentation.

Although they show Dobbs explaining that the power of the local cops, the FBI, and the courts was used against Local 544, the film editors removed any specific reference to the most serious attack: the indictment at the height of the conflict of leaders of Local 544 and the SWP under the Smith Act, the notorious thought-control law. Eighteen, including Dobbs, were convicted and sent to prison for their antiwar views.

The documentary's censoring of any reference to the Smith Act trials covers up both a key reason for Hoffa's eventual success and the severity of Roosevelt's antidemocratic, antilabor measures.

Vendetta against Hoffa

Hoffa himself was to be no stranger to government persecution and frame-up. Beginning in 1957 the McClellan committee of the U.S. Senate, with Robert Kennedy as chief counsel, conducted a two-year smear campaign against Hoffa and the Teamsters.

Kennedy continued this witch-hunt vigorously as attorney general, setting up a special "get Hoffa squad" that kept Teamster leaders under constant surveillance, bugged their offices, planted informers, and carried out other "dirty tricks."

Over the years Hoffa was indicted on various charges of wiretapping, bribery, and mail fraud, and was finally convicted in 1964 of jury tampering and fraud in administering the Teamster pension fund.

It is a sign of the public revulsion today against government harassment and spying that the documentary gives a generally unfavorable picture of how these Watergate-type attacks were used against the Teamsters. It even shows Hoffa commenting that "Watergate was tame" compared with what Kennedy and the FBI did to the union.

The program also does a good job of exposing Nixon's unconstitutional barring of Hoffa from union affairs until 1980 as a condition for commutation of his sentence in 1971.

It shows how top Nixon aides cooked up this scheme with Frank Fitzsimmons, who succeeded Hoffa as IBT president, in a deal to keep Fitzsimmons in control of the union and loyal to Nixon.

This episode, together with what is shown about the government vendetta against Hoffa, points to an important lesson about "union corruption," which is a major focus of the program.

The real target of the government's "anticorruption" drive is not the officials but the unions themselves—to weaken the labor movement and facilitate government interference with it.

The McClellan committee hearings were part of a whole antilabor drive in the late 1950s that included ramming through the Kennedy-Landrum-



Militant/Howard Petrick

FARRELL DOBBS: 'One of the outstanding things is courage and resourcefulness of the workers.'

Griffin law. McClellan himself tried to get a national "right to work" law passed to outlaw the union shop.

Because Hoffa was a special victim of these attacks, and because, unlike others, he fought back as best he knew how, he became for many a symbol of labor standing on its own and refusing to knuckle under to the employers or government.

Why corruption?

Corruption originates not in the labor movement but in the capitalist system itself. Hoffa and Fitzsimmons take pride in their adherence to "business unionism." What this really comes down to is that they see the union as a business to run like the capitalists do—that is, through secrecy, backstabbing, graft, blackmail, violence, bribery, and fraud, with the primary goal of personal enrichment.

It is to Hoffa's credit that in his rise to power he continued to organize Teamsters along industrial lines and to extend the application of area-wide bargaining, culminating in the 1964 national freight agreement. In this respect he took over and built upon the foundations laid by Dobbs and the Minneapolis Teamsters.

Except for this one formal aspect, however, Hoffa represents the negation of everything the class-struggle left wing stood for.

The Minneapolis Teamsters proceeded from the perspective of mobilizing the workers in their own interests, running their own union, and in solidarity with all the oppressed and working people.

Hoffa, along with IBT officials like Tobin and Dave Beck, blotted out those methods. Union democracy, rank-and-file control, and a team leadership were replaced by an autocratic machine that used goon-squad terrorism to suppress dissension among the membership.

Labor solidarity was replaced with jurisdictional raiding and outright scabbing, which has reached its most despicable depths in the Teamster con-



JIMMY HOFFA: Glad-handing the union ranks.

spiracy with California growers to destroy the United Farm Workers—a Fitzsimmons operation that Hoffa wholeheartedly supports.

A consistent class-struggle policy was replaced by class collaboration, kickbacks, bribes, and secret deals with the bosses.

Dobbs's appraisal

Dobbs has written a partial evaluation of Hoffa in a review of *Hoffa and the Teamsters* by Ralph and Estelle James. The review appeared in the summer 1966 *International Socialist Review*.

"Hoffa's political limitations as a trade union leader are reflected in what the authors term his 'bread and butter' philosophy," Dobbs wrote. "He has been unable to rise above peanut politics with Democratic and Republican office holders. The limitation has been very costly to the Teamsters.

"Restrictive laws passed by the capitalist politicians have weakened the Teamsters' inherent power to defend their class interests. A nine-year vendetta has been waged against them by the capitalist government, under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

"To a politically class-conscious

worker the answer to these attacks is self-evident. The Teamsters should take the lead in breaking with capitalist politics and launching an independent labor party.

"Their perspective should be to build a class political movement oriented toward the workers taking governmental power away from the capitalists."

Trying to justify his methods, Hoffa correctly states that "the first people that hire hoodlums and gangsters are employers. If there is any illegal forces in the community, he'll use 'em—strong-arm or otherwise. And so if you're going to stay in business of organizing the unorganized, maintaining the union you have, then you better have a resistance."

Absolutely true—but what sort of resistance? In 1934 the Minneapolis Teamsters faced the worst the employers could dish out: their members were beaten, shot, and killed; their leaders thrown in jail; the city placed under martial law.

The employer violence was answered—and defeated—by the workers themselves, not by hired thugs who end up dictating union policy and looting the union treasury.

Conspicuously absent from ABC-TV's "Hoffa" are the rank and file of the Teamsters union. For both Hoffa and the producers of the documentary, the members are like "extras" to be manipulated. A few are brought on to shake hands with Hoffa, or to cheer for him at a union meeting.

But there is never an inkling that they might have something to say about the union—that they, not Hoffa, not Fitzsimmons, might be the union.

Except for one moment: when we see the Minneapolis strikers in action in 1934, and when we hear Farrell Dobbs say, "One of the outstanding things is not only the courage but the resourcefulness that a body of workers show when they're in a mood to fight and they have leaders that are willing to lead them into a fight."

Unionists back Guild strikers in Cleveland

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—Singing "Solidarity Forever," a contingent from the Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) marched through the rain and cold Nov. 24 to join Newspaper Guild pickets at the *Plain Dealer*.

They had been attending a CLUW meeting at Service Employees International Union Local 47 headquarters two blocks away.

CLUW also passed a resolution of support for the Guild strike, which has closed the *Plain Dealer* since Nov. 1. Acting in support of its "competitor," the *Cleveland Press* has locked out its employees.

The action of the CLUW chapter, like the resolution of support adopted by the Cleveland AFL-CIO at its November meeting, indicates a renewed spirit of union solidarity reminiscent of the 126-day newspaper strike of 1962-63.

One rank-and-file printer told *The Militant*, "It's beginning to look like another long strike will be necessary to make the publishers come up with the money the Guild members—and the rest of us—need to offset the effects of inflation.

"If it is going to be another long one, I hope our unions are preparing to put out a paper again like we did last time.

"The *Cleveland Record* was published for 11 weeks ending April 6, 1963, by the Inter-Union Publishing Company. It printed 55 issues. It was written, edited, printed, and managed by striking employees of the *Plain Dealer* and *Cleveland Press* and was delivered to regular news outlets by the Teamsters.

"It provided work for strikers not needed for picket duty, strike benefits for those who were not getting any from their unions, and made it possible to keep up health insurance premiums stopped by the publishers.

"Our own paper can report the truth about the issues in our strike and what's happening, to counter the propaganda put out by the bosses."

In the current strike the *Plain Dealer* unit of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild has been issuing a daily information bulletin called "Strike!" for Guild members and friends.

The bulletin reports contributions to the strike fund from other Guild units, including \$100 from San Jose, Calif., Guild Local 98 with the comment:

"Needless to say, we on the West Coast are not unfamiliar with Newhouse's [The Newhouse chain owns the *Plain Dealer*.] union-busting tactics. The brothers and sisters of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild can count on our continued support until this strike is won, and we are as confident as you that it will be won."

"One Portland [referring to a union defeat by Newhouse] is enough."

The resolution adopted by the Cleveland AFL-CIO "calls upon its 130,000 members and their families to aid these newspaper men and women in their basic struggle for a decent standard of living and in their fight for professional and ethical protection from management in the newsroom."

In other developments, National Labor Relations Board hearings were held Nov. 18 on unfair labor practices filed by the Cleveland Typographical Union and others against the *Cleveland Press* for locking out its employees. A ruling is pending.

Books on Teamster struggles



TWO BOOKS ON THE BATTLES THAT BUILT THE TEAMSTERS UNION AND THEIR LESSONS FOR TODAY:

TEAMSTER REBELLION by Farrell Dobbs. History of 1934 Teamster strikes that began to make Minneapolis a union town. 192 pp. Paper \$2.25, cloth \$6.95.

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Calendar

ATLANTA

WHAT'S AT STAKE IN BOSTON. Speakers: Vince Egan, 1974 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, who recently returned from Boston; others. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE TODAY: WHY WE MARCH ON BOSTON. Speakers: Rexford Weng, executive board member, state labor council; Maceo Dixon, cochairperson, 1974 Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CRISIS IN BOSTON AND PASADENA. Speakers: Fred Halstead, eyewitness reporter in Boston for The Militant; Michael Zinman, Pasadena Community Information Center; others. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave (near 7th and Alvarado). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

NEW YORK CITY

RACIST VIOLENCE IN BOSTON: HOW TO FIGHT IT. Speakers: Dennis Serrette, president of New York State Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, vice-president of Communications Workers of America Local 1100, and leader of Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization against Racism; Peter Camejo, member of national committee, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. Eisner-Lubin Aud., Loeb Student Center, NYU (Washington Sq. S. & LaGuardia) Donation: \$1. Ausp: New York City Militant Forums and NYU Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

ST. LOUIS

SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY—GRAND OPENING FORUM. Speaker: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau editor, The Militant. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Suite 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN DIEGO

ISRAEL, THE U.S., AND THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE. Speaker to be announced. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO

EYEWITNESS REPORT: HOW TO FIGHT RACISM IN BOSTON. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

TWIN CITIES

BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN: FILM BY SERGEI EISENSTEIN. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...Maoists

Continued from page 5

accusing its critics of being enemies of the working class. They say, "... the SWP, like OL, insists that white

people in South Boston are just racists—backward clods who we should call on the ruling class to suppress."

RU argues that the rulers, not the white workers, are responsible for racism. This is true. But when workers adopt the ruling-class ideology of racism, it is the duty of revolutionaries to combat it, not pander to it. White workers have to be told that it is not in their interests to be used as a tool in the oppression of Black workers.

RU fails to see that by uniting with white workers on a program of opposing desegregation, they are fighting to defend the special privileges that go with being white in this society.

RU says that all Boston schools are bad and that this won't be solved by desegregation. But as bad as *all* the schools are, the formerly all-white schools were superior. The reactionaries want to maintain that inequality.

In Boston, Black and white workers have an interest in uniting with each other to fight to improve all of the schools. But this unity can never come about while Blacks are being beaten up by white workers for merely trying to get an equal education under the present system. It can only come about when white workers support the demands of the Black community for an end to racist discrimination in education.

Two demonstrations will take place in Boston on the weekend of Dec. 14. One is the national Freedom March, initiated by Blacks and trade unionists who support the Black community's right to desegregated schools. The racists have called a counterdemonstration for the next day. In the next two weeks, many people will be asking members of RU a straightforward question: Which of the two demonstrations will RU support?

...auto

Continued from page 10

iodic crises of overproduction, declining sales, and mass layoffs are a built-in feature of the capitalist economy. The auto industry is especially susceptible to the swings of the business cycle.

Although the auto barons are complaining about falling profits, they reap billions out of every business cycle.

There is no way the auto workers can resolve these crises by trying to solve the problems of the company or the capitalist economy as a whole.

Workers have to look out for their own interests, by mobilizing the tremendous power of their unions.

Some steps in the right direction were proposed at a Nov. 14 news conference in Detroit by Jordan Sims, UAW Local 961 president and a leader of the United National Caucus, a small opposition group in the UAW.

Sims proposed that the UAW call a special convention "to discuss the crisis and plan strategies for a co-ordinated response." He said he favored a "share-the-work" program, whereby the available work would be spread around to all who need it. ". . . we must insist on a full work force and a full weekly paycheck," he explained.

Sims also urged a mass demonstration by auto workers to focus attention on their plight.

One protest demonstration did occur on Nov. 18, at Chrysler's world headquarters in nearby Highland Park. Several hundred auto workers, many of them Black, chanted such slogans as "Keep all the plants open" and "We demand jobs—We came to fight for jobs—We're going to win that fight."

The action was organized by the Jefferson Avenue Revolutionary Union Movement.

Sims requested that other UAW officials respond to his proposals, but none have done so.

The idea of a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay has been part of the union's program for years, codified in the "30 for 40" slogan: 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. This slogan has been buried by the UAW officialdom, but now is clearly the time to revive it and wage a campaign to win this demand.

If the companies insist that they can't afford to employ all the auto workers, then they should be forced to reveal their true financial status. As one worker at Chevrolet's forge plant in Hamtramck, Mich., put it: "The auto companies tell a lot of lies, just like the oil companies, to get a free rein. We should inspect their books ourselves."

...FBI

Continued from page 15

SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] and other less publicized groups should be developed and expanded to determine the size and purpose of these groups and their relationship to other groups, and also to determine the whereabouts of persons who might be involved in insti-

gating riot activity in violation of federal law."

In a subsequent memo, dated Nov. 9, 1967, Clark called for a new spy unit to be set up, the Interdivision Information Unit (IDIU). He assigned the IDIU to investigate groups and individuals "who may play a role either in instigating or spreading disorders. . . . Aware that this surveillance was completely unconstitutional, Clark warned that the IDIU "must be kept in strictest confidence."

Clark's orders for stepped-up spying against Blacks came just at the time that the COINTELPRO operations against the Black movement began to intensify.

The FBI is still using Clark's directives as authority for illegal investigations.

At the HISC hearings, Kevin Marnoney, a deputy assistant attorney general, testified that FBI spying in "the civil disturbance area" follows "the principal guidelines . . . set forth in Attorney General Ramsey Clark's memorandum."

How many other secret memorandums on harassment of the Black movement exist? What documents is the Justice Department hiding from the public on Martin Luther King, who was assassinated in the middle of Clark's term as attorney general? What "guidelines" did Clark suggest for disruption of the giant antiwar demonstrations that occurred at the end of his term?

The American people have a right to see all the secret FBI and Justice Department files.

YSA

Continued from page 16

ers Party as an organization advocating violent overthrow of the Government on the basis of such passages would be a characterization based on what was not said rather than what was said."

A statement by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) urged the broadest possible support for the SWP and YSA suit, in face of the ominous attempt by the government to revive use of the reactionary Smith Act. The PRDF is organizing to publicize and raise funds for the suit, which is being handled by attorneys Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan.

To find out how you can help, contact PRDF at 156 Fifth Ave., Rm. 703, New York, N.Y. 10010. Phone (212) 691-3270.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, c/o Tim Clendon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

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San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

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Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

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Urbana: YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 1309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46202.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-4738 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 709 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. Tel: (301) 383-8128.

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East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg.

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Buffalo: YSA, P.O. Box 604, Buffalo, N.Y. 14240.

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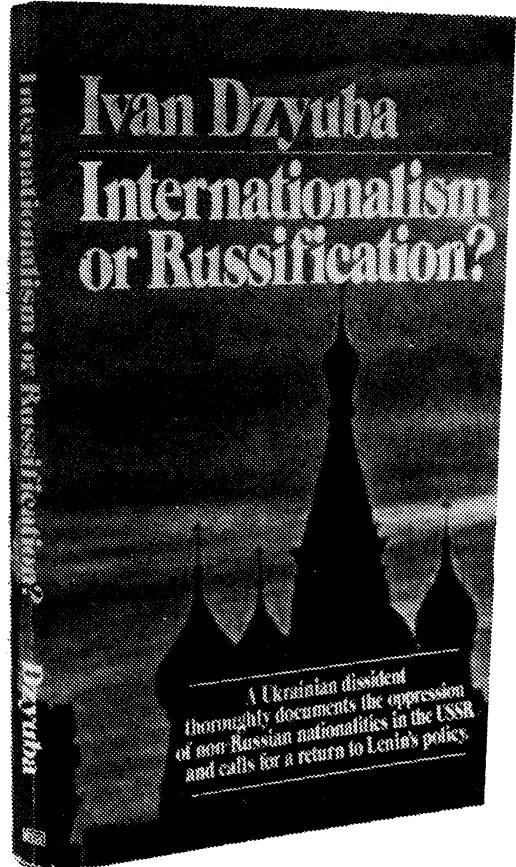
Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553.

YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark,

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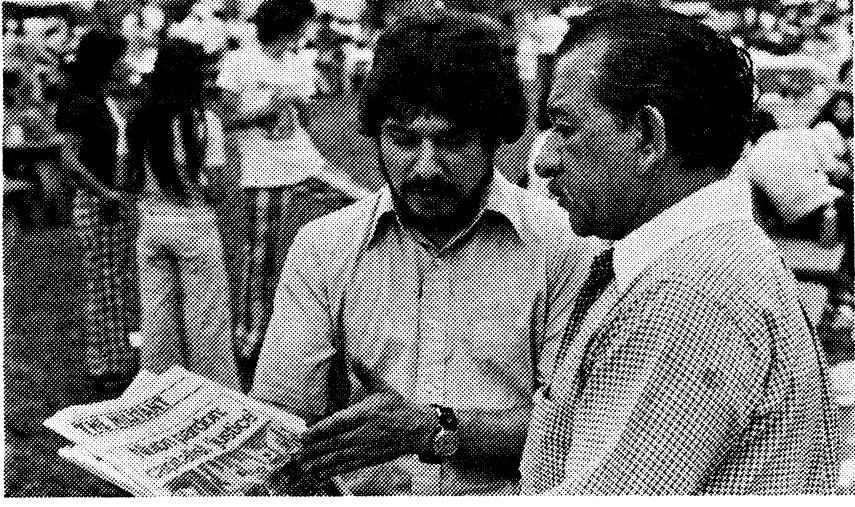
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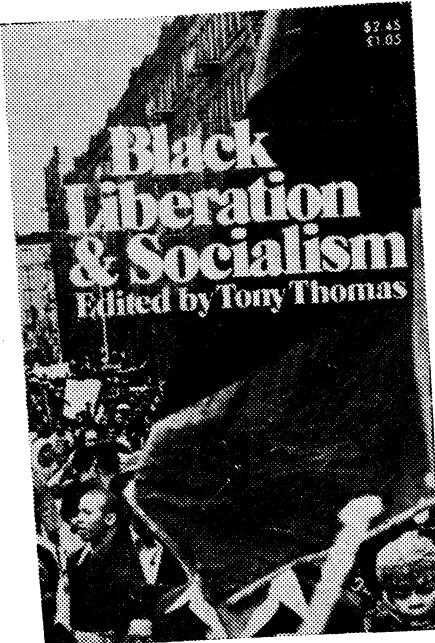


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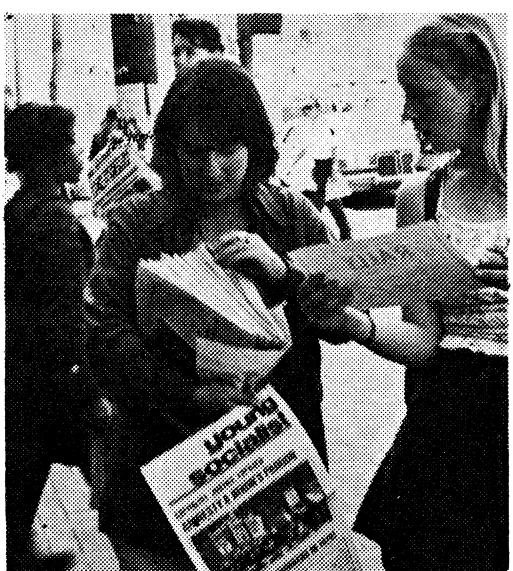
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Coal contract goes to rank & file for vote

By CINDY JAQUITH

The 120,000 soft-coal miners in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), on strike since Nov. 12, are going to the ballot boxes this week to vote on a new contract.

The eyes of millions of working people, as well as the coal bosses and the government, will be upon them as they exercise their right to decide on contracts for the first time in UMWA history.

On Nov. 26, the UMWA bargaining council, made up of union officials from around the country, voted 22 to 15 to send a tentative strike settlement on to the rank and file for a vote. The membership will be holding discussion meetings on the contract in each district prior to voting.

The proposed contract is a revised one, worked out by UMWA President Arnold Miller, the coal operators, and government mediators at an emergency meeting on Nov. 24. The bargaining council had refused to approve the first offer Miller brought them from the bargaining table on Nov. 13.

Role of government

At the Nov. 24 meeting, the government played a direct role in getting both sides to agree. In addition to top federal mediator W. J. Usery, Secretary of the Treasury William Simon was brought in to put pressure on the coal operators for more concessions.

The role of the government was a sign of how concerned the Ford administration and the capitalists behind it are to avoid a major showdown with the miners at this time.

New York Times labor commentator A. H. Raskin explained, "The Ford Administration, fearful of a back-to-work confrontation with the miners similar to the one that brought down the Heath Government in Great Britain last winter, has leaned on the coal operators to sweeten the pot."

When Miller proposed the new contract offer to the bargaining council on Nov. 26, it was rejected in the first vote, 23 to 11.

The Nov. 27 Times reported that "under a strategy devised yesterday," federal mediator Usery was present at the UMWA headquarters, "prepared to go before the council members 'at President Ford's request' to plead for ratification."

When a second vote was taken late in the day, however, the council approved the settlement.

After the bargaining council vote, according to the Times, "Mr. Miller had talked by telephone with President Ford, had received the President's 'congratulations' on the outcome and had promised Mr. Ford to 'go into the field and do everything I can do to get the coal flowing again for America.'"

Upon learning of the phone conversation, one union aide was said to have commented, "This will kill us."

Contract terms

The two main improvements negotiated at the Nov. 24 bargaining session were in vacation schedules and wages. The revised contract now gives miners two consecutive weeks of vaca-



Rank-and-file miners are voting on contract for first time in history of their union

tion a year, rather than a split vacation.

On wages, the revised contract provides for a 10 percent wage increase the first year, instead of 9 percent as initially proposed; a 4 percent raise the second year, instead of 3; and a 3 percent increase the third year. The average pay for miners now is \$5.74 an hour before taxes.

Other major features of the proposed contract are the following:

- A cost-of-living escalator clause that will raise wages one cent an hour for every 0.4 increase in the Consumer Price Index. The increases, paid quarterly, have a top limit, or "cap," of 8 percent. Miners will not receive compensation for price increases above 8 percent a year.
- Pensions for miners who have already retired will increase from \$150 to \$250 a month by the end of the contract. Miners who retire in 1976 or after will get higher pensions, depending on the number of years worked.
- There will be five days' paid sick leave. Miners now have none.
- Individual miners will have the right to withdraw from unsafe work areas.
- The company will pay for union safety inspectors to conduct four mine inspections a year.
- The company will hire 7,000 to 8,000 helpers on dangerous machinery.

The acceptance of a tentative settlement by the bargaining council came as the coal companies and the government were intensifying their pressure for an end to the strike.

When the council said it thought the first contract offer was inadequate, the capitalist media lashed out at the union, particularly at its democratic reforms requiring membership ratification of the contract.

Among the most vicious of these attacks was an editorial in the Nov. 23 *New York Times*, which blasted "die-hards in the U.M.W. upper echelon" for "footdragging" on the ratification procedure. The *Times* stated that "at best, this delay means more layoffs in steel mills, railroads and other industries. At worst, it could precipitate a national emergency so grave that President Ford would have to invoke the injunctive provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, with all the risks of conflict in the coal fields such a move would entail."

In their attacks on the "diehards" in the UMWA, the press and the coal operators also took advantage of the fact that Miller had declared the initial offer to be the best the miners could get. This placed him in an awkward position when he was subsequently sent back to negotiations by the bargaining council.

As the *Times* pointed out in its objections to a renewal of contract talks, "Miller . . . has repeatedly asserted that the Nov. 13 agreement represented the most that the industry could give and was 'the best contract in the history of the labor movement. . . .'"

Guy Farmer, chief negotiator for the coal bosses, argued in a similar vein, demanding that the first offer be "submitted promptly to the membership ratification" with no further changes.

What operators want

The operators naturally want to get away with giving the miners as little as possible. They apparently hoped that if their first offer received bargaining council approval, the ranks of the union would accept it. And if they didn't vote for it, the bosses were—and still are—relying on government intervention to force the miners back to work.

However, the need for rank-and-file ratification strengthened the union's hand at the bargaining table. With the knowledge that a militant membership is waiting to vote on this contract, the union leadership had to press for more.

Even so, Miller continued to defend the first contract offer. At a Nov. 21 news conference in Charleston, W. Va., where Miller went to appeal to UMWA members, he said of the bargaining council: "They want me to go back and take another bite out of the apple that I've been gnawing at for two months now, and there's just the core left."

But others on the bargaining council disagreed, particularly in light of the huge profits the companies have reaped this year. As Lou Antal, president of UMWA District 5 and a council member, said, "Every time in the past when they've given us two bucks, they raised the price of coal by three."

There are already signs that coal prices will be hiked soon after the UMWA strike ends. Ben Franklin, writing in the Nov. 25 *New York Times*, pointed to the significance of Treasury Secretary Simon's role in the final negotiations. Simon's intervention, he said, "raised questions as to whether he had made commitments to the coal industry for favorable economic treatment by the Government"

The split vote by the bargaining council indicates that approval by the membership is far from guaranteed. If coal miners decide the contract terms are not satisfactory, and they demand more, a new round of attacks on them by the coal barons and the media will certainly follow in an attempt to justify government strike-breaking. Thus the need for continued solidarity with the miners is still great.